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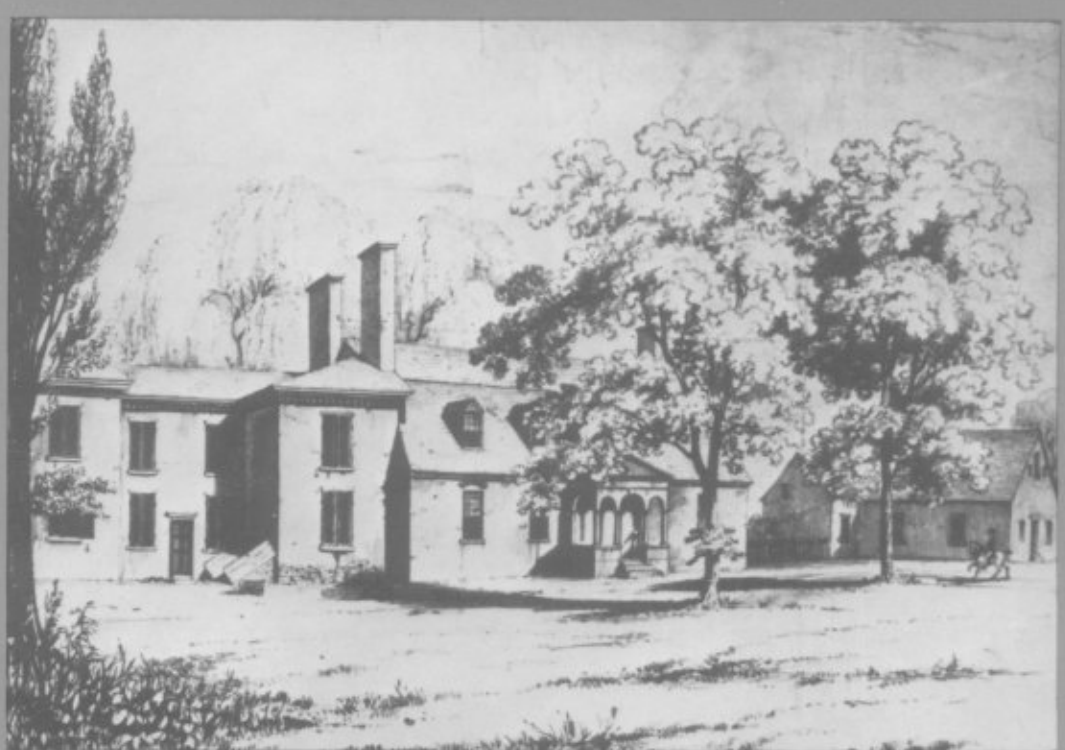

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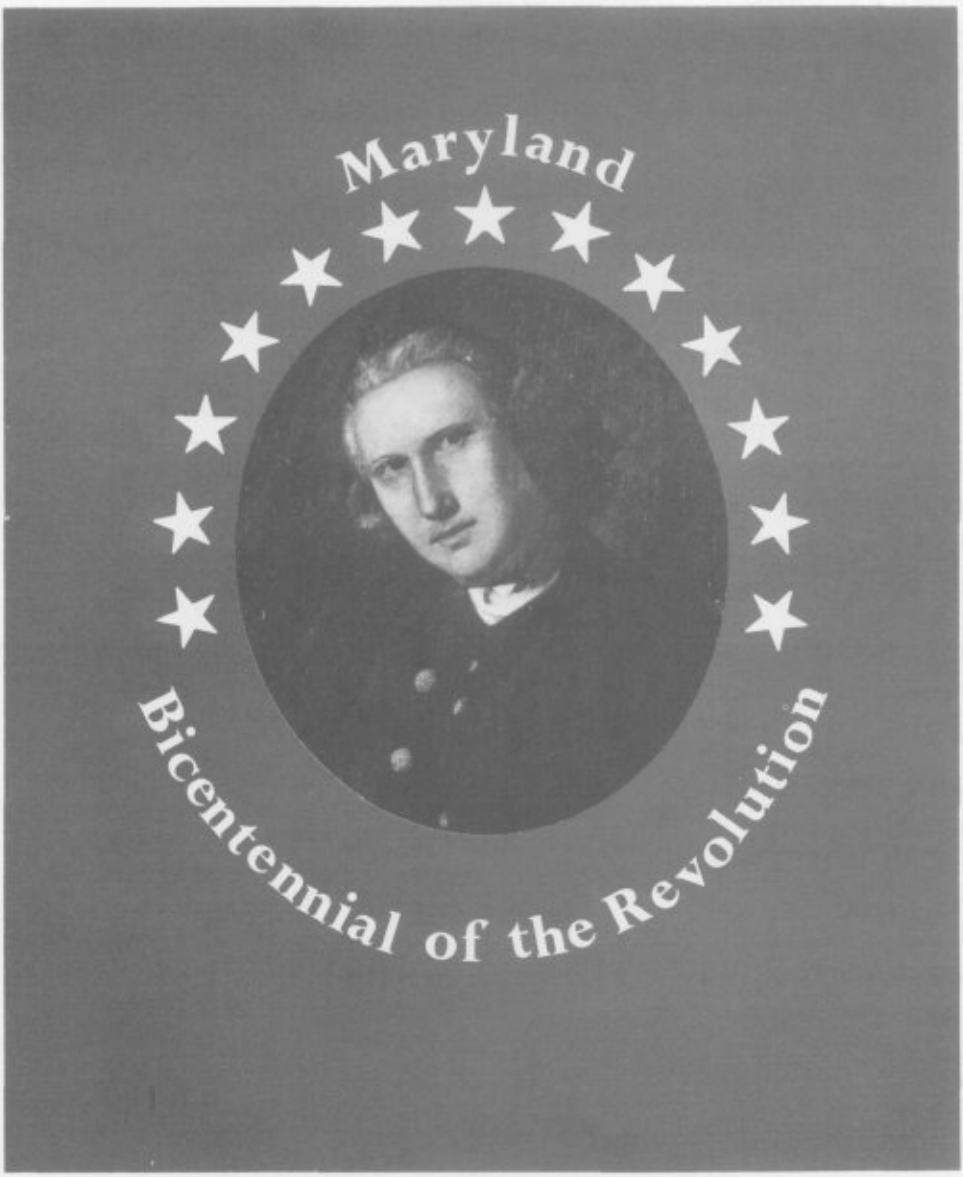
Samuel Chase, 1741–1811.



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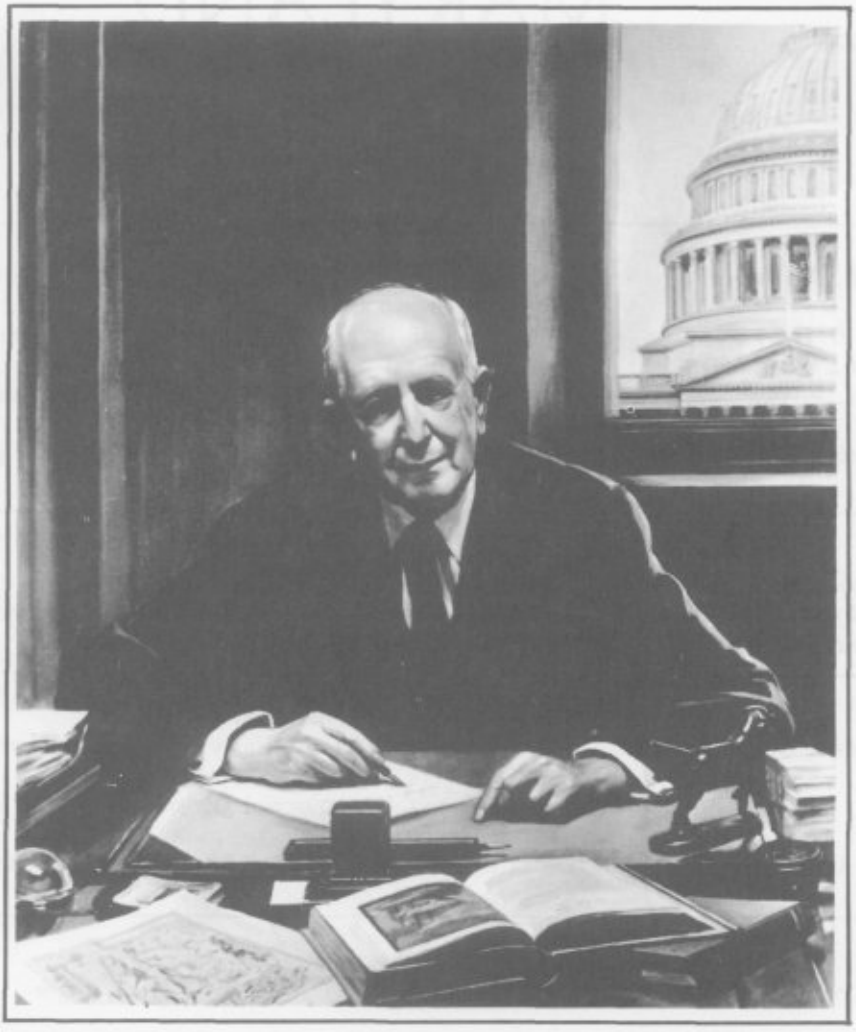

The Hon. George L. Radcliffe
Portrait by Stanislav Rembski. Owned by the
University Club, Baltimore.

In Memoriam

It is with deep regret that the Society records the death of the Hon. George L. Radcliffe on July 29, 1974. A full obituary will appear in the Winter, 1974 issue of this *Magazine*.

The Very Reverend Joseph A. Sellinger, S. J., President of Loyola College, awarding Harold Manakee a Doctorate of Humane Letters *honoris causa*.

HAROLD RANDALL MANAKEE, 1908–1974

On May 7th Harold Randall Manakee, former director of the Maryland Historical Society, passed away after a short illness. Dr. Manakee was the second executive director of the Society and his ten-year term in that position was filled with excitement and progress of an unprecedented nature. As one reflects on the decade between 1962 and 1972, and records the more important changes at the Society, he cannt help but marvel at how they could have taken place so smoothly.

Historical societies tend to be conservative in viewing change and this is perhaps as it should be, for in the perspective of history evolutionary steps have greater survival than changes that come abruptly. All the more reason to be grateful that Harold Manakee was selected to be at the helm when so much needed to be done with dispatch.

The two World Wars and the Korean conflict left Americans in general with a strong sense of history, particularly with a concern for the role of our country in a world that could destroy itself with atomic and hydrogen bombs. All over the nation people were turning to their historical societies seeking to find answers to current problems through responses to past difficulties. In some cases it was sheer nostalgia or mere worship of other eras. Whatever the reasons, the United States was not both

old enough and powerful enough to critically and scientifically analyze its past.

The Council of the Maryland Historical Society had long recognized that it could be on the frontier of furthering historiography if it could expand its physical facilities and thus its operations. Fortunately it was enabled to plan for such an expansion in space through the generous bequests of William S. Thomas, in 1947, and that of his brother, John L. Thomas, in 1961, these funds to be used explicitly for the erection of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building.

First as business manager, and beginning in 1955 as assistant director, Harold Manakee worked with the late James W. Foster, the Society's first director, in formulating the early plans for the building. In 1961, when the funds from the two bequests became available, the pace of planning increased. Following Mr. Foster's untimely death early in 1962, Dr. Manakee was appointed by the Council as his successor, and he then assumed the responsibility for continuing and expanding his predecessor's admirable groundwork in organizing and developing the Society's collections and services.

Each day during this period brought exciting moments. Not only were there building plans to complete, but it was also necessary to seek ways and means to increase the income of the Society to meet its expanding demands; and, even more important, it was imperative to mature and redefine the Society's philosophy of services and holdings. It was the latter requirement that was crucial to all the rest. Dr. Manakee had the foresight to see that how the Society saw its objectives would determine the nature of the physical plant and would fashion the institution's path for generations to come. In *A Quarter-Century of Growth at the Maryland Historical Society*, appearing in the March, 1965 issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, in tracing the Society's history, Dr. Manakee clarified its posture as an active, responsible, repository and disseminator of Maryland historical materials.

Harold Manakee saw it first with the eyes of a trained historian. From 1946 to 1962 he headed the Maryland World War II Records Division of the Society and with painstaking accuracy recorded the story of the State's contributions in that historic event. During his seven years as assistant director and ten years as director he recognized that the Society's first responsibility was that of being historically accurate.

He saw the new structure with the skilled view of the archivist and librarian. He cherished valuable documents, but knew that they are there primarily to serve the public. It was this belief that caused him to carry through James Foster's planning of a manuscript division for the new building in order to make certain that scholars would have ready access to needed primary sources.

Dr. Manakee saw the Thomas and Hugg Memorial addition with the vision of a curator who handles museum pieces with loving care, but more importantly as memorabilia to make real the past. So he made certain that adequate housing be provided for its many valuable collections and that there were proper exhibition areas for their display.

He saw his task as a teacher. This he could do well for he had been a demonstration teacher in Baltimore at various grade levels from the elementary through collegiate grades. He loved to teach whether to get an important point over to an individual, a committee or an audience, or personally lead a school group on a tour of the exhibits.

No wonder his heart was so strongly set on completing the Darnall Young People's Museum at the Society.

Perhaps, most important of all, he saw his task as a love affair with his State and country. The affair virtually started with his birth on April 17, 1908, in Baltimore, of parents who were both native Marylanders. It was nourished when Harold Manakee wrote *My Maryland* in 1934 in collaboration with Beta Ennis Kaessmann, (later to be his wife), and Joseph L. Wheeler. This book was to have six printings and a sale of over 100,000 copies. The love affair was further extended when during World War II he served his country in combat areas as an intelligence officer and later as officer-in-charge of a patrol torpeo boat advanced base in the Mediterranean, retiring with the rank of Lieutenant Commander.

At the time of his fatal illness Dr. Manakee was finishing up the directing of the monumental work, *Maryland: A History, 1632–1964*, to be published by the Society this fall.

We can all be grateful that Harold R. Manakee brought all this to the position of the directorship. In a sense much of the history of the Society in the decade that he was at the helm-1962–72-was a record of Dr. Manakee's doing. It will long retain his impress.

HARRY BARD
June 18, 1974

CONTRIBUTORS

Dorothy M. Brown is chairman of the History Department of Georgetown University. She is a frequent contributor to this *Magazine* and has published in *Mid-America* and the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* as well.

Gary L. Browne is an Assistant Professor at Wayne State University where he recently completed his doctoral dissertation, "Baltimore in the Nation, 1789–1861: A Social Economy in Industrial Revolution." He has previously published in *Wisconsin Magazine of History* and *Business History Review* and is a fequent reviewer for this *Magazine*.

Katherine B. Dehler is a graduate of Goucher College and is a student of local history. Among her publications are *Our Heritage, 11 West Mount Vernon Place* and *The Thomas-Jencks-Gladding House, One West Mt. Vernon Place.*

Ralph D. Gray is a Professor of History at Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis. A former contributor to this *Magazine*, he is the author of *The National Waterway: A History of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, 1769–1965* (Urbana, Ill., 1967) and *Stellite: A History of the Haynes Stellite Company, 1912–1972* (Kokomo, Ind., 1974). He is currently at work upon a biography of Elwood Haynes, an American automobile pioneer and metallurgist, the inventor of Stellite and stainless steel.

Gerald E. Hartdagen is a Professor of History at Indiana University-Purdue University. Professor Hartdagen is a frequent contributor to this *Magazine* and has also published numerous articles in the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*. This fall he will deliver a paper entitled "Sinners and Saints: The Eighteenth-Century Anglican Clergy in Maryland" at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association.

Jean H. Vivian is a frequent contributor to this *Magazine*. Currently she is writing a biography of Thomas Stone (1743–1787), one of Maryland's four signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Rodney M. Sievers is currently teaching at Humboldt State University in Arcata, California. He received his B.A. from the University of New Mexico and as a Woodrow Wilson Fellow earned his doctorate in history from the University of Virginia. He is now completing a cultural biography of Adlai Stevenson.

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Business Innovation and Social Change: The Career of Alexander Brown After the War of 1812

GARY L. BROWNE*

THE TIME HAS come to reassess the historical importance of Alexander Brown of Baltimore, founder of Alex. Brown & Sons with its network of family firms in Liverpool, New York, and Philadelphia. He was more than the astute, successful businessman that previous studies have shown him to be; he was an intelligent student of the social changes occurring around him; and though he utilized his observations and insights for profit, he did so in ways that stamped him as a forerunner of the later nineteenth-century businessman. Brown's historical importance thus lies as much in his social role as a business innovator, and his business role as an observer of the social changes around him, as it does in his strictly economic achievements.[1]

* The author wishes to particularly acknowledge the kindnesses shown to me by Mr. John Beverly Riggs and Mr. J. Creighton Riepe when I first arrived in Baltimore. Mr. Riggs introduced me to Mr. Riepe, a member of the firm of Alex. Brown & Sons, and through Mr. Riepe's invitation, I visited the firm's offices where I saw a number of items from the nineteenth century still in possession of the firm. The interest and appreciation of these amiable gentlemen in Baltimore's history made my research task much more pleasant and rewarding.

[1] Brown and the network of firms that he directed from his parent organization in Baltimore has been the subject of several studies: John Crosby Brown, *A Hundred Years of Merchant Banking: A History of Brown Brothers and Company; Brown, Shipley & Company; and the Allied Firms* (New York, 1909); Frank R. Kent, *The Story of Alexander Brown & Sons* (Baltimore, 1950); John A. Kouwenhoven, *Partners in Banking; An Historical Portrait of a Great Private Bank, Brown Brothers, Harriman & Co., 1818–1968* (Garden City, New York, 1968); Edwin J. Perkins, "Financing Antebellum Importers: The Role of Brown Bros. & Co. in Baltimore," *Business Hist. Rev.*, XLV (Winter, 1971), 421–451; and Aytoun Ellis, *Heir of Adventure: The Story of Brown, Shipley & Co., Merchant Bankers* (London, 1960).

No one doubts that Brown's innovations were the products of a historical situation, yet the problem with appreciating the social significance of Brown and others like him has been that students of American business history do not detail the social origins of economic change. For example, the most recent studies have followed their predecessors in calling attention to the transition from a "traditional" to a "modern" way of conducting business enterprise during the first half of the nineteenth century, and they have continued to analyze economic change internally while merely describing its social context. Business historians generally agree that eighteenth-century merchants were part of a long tradition reaching back to the sixteenth century, and that the social role of these merchants was that of a generalist operating in a credit economy. By the same token, they agree upon the new social role of the nineteenth-century merchant, a specialist functioning in a money economy. With everyone agreeing that the transition occurred, it merely requires elaboration; and this study is one contribution toward that end.[2]

That catch-all phrase, the "industrial revolution," will not explain this transition. True, Brown's business innovations were made when industrialization was present in Baltimore and was just becoming socially significant; but the evidence suggests that his innovations were not responses to industrialization. Instead, they stemmed from his perceptions of certain social and economic changes that took place partially to correct the conditions present during the War of 1812 and partially in response to the new, peacetime situation. For example, the re-imposition of the west-European (and especially the British) mercantile systems after the war, the creation of the second Bank of the United States in 1816, the Panic of 1819 followed by the depression of the early 1820's, and the development of the Anglo-American cotton trade influenced Brown's business decisions far more than did the appearance of steam-powered factory production in Baltimore. In effect, Brown's innovations, and later nineteenth-century practices, grew out of the circumstances of industrialization, but they were a facet of the industrial revolution in a contiguous rather than a causal way.[3]

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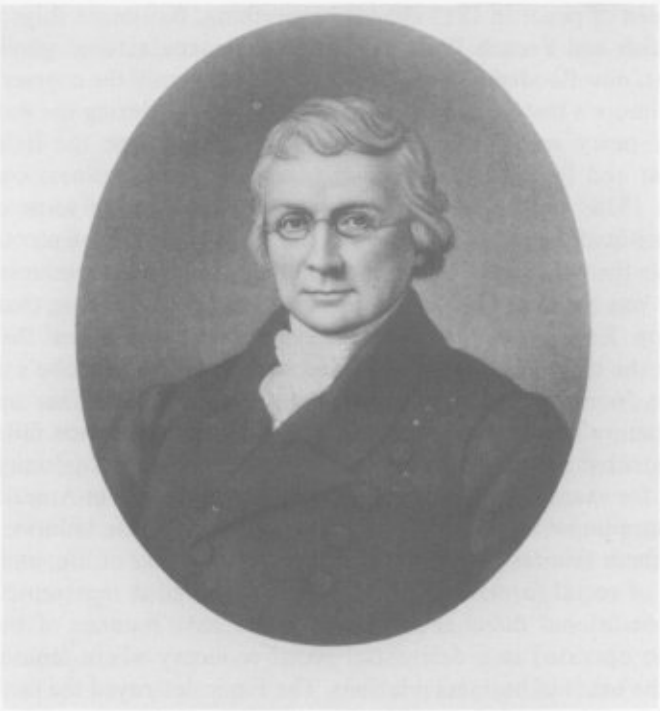
[2] Elisha P. Douglass, in *The Coming of Age of American Business* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1971), p. 39, states this transition most succinctly when discussing the social role of Stephen Girard: "As an entrepreneur, Girard was much more in the style of the eighteenth than of the nineteenth centuries. His concentration on foreign trade and banking, and his diversified investment program were typical of merchants of earlier generations. Yet in some ways he was a bridge between the two eras." Also see pp. 60, 93–94. Two other recent studies also mention this transition, but in an even more general manner: Thomas C. Cochran, *Business in American Life: A History* (New York, 1972), pp. 61, 64, 81, 86–87; and Herman E. Krooss and Charles Gilbert, *American Business History* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1972), pp. 69–70, 77, 101–102, 109–118, 128–134. Standard descriptions of the social roles of seventeenth and eighteenth century merchants are Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1955); Stanley F. Chyet, *Lopez of Newport: Colonial American Merchant Prince* (Detroit, 1970); and Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682–1783* (New York, 1948).

[3] Cochran, *Business in American Life*, p. 73, is the only recent study to admit this. Frank Lee Benns, *The American Struggle for the West Indies Carrying Trade, 1815–1830* (Bloomington, Ind., 1923) and Vernon G. Setser, *The Commercial Reciprocity Policy of the United States, 1774–1829* (New York, 1969) remain the standard sources on American foreign trade during the 1820's. The best general treatment of the Panic of 1819 and the resulting depression is Murray N. Rothbard, *The Panic of 1819, Reactions and Policies* (New York, 1962).



Alexander Brown, *Maryland Historical Society.*

In Baltimore, moreover, the experience of the generation after the war was almost the reverse of that of the generation before the war. The city prospered enormously during the wars of the French Revolution on the basis of its carrying trade to the British and French West Indies, and when the British ended their support of Jay's Treaty in 1805, the Baltimoreans strongly supported the Republican Party's stand against the British for their violations of the American nationality. Subsequently, Baltimore privateers played a crucial role in the Second War for American Independence. For the generation from 1793 to 1815, then, the Baltimoreans prospered as they became more acquainted with the wartime conditions of, and opportunities for, trade; and, finally, when they were drawn into the war, they found it much the same as the First War for American Independence, both patriotic and profitable.[4]

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[4] Gary L. Browne, "Baltimore in the Nation, 1789–1861: A Social Economy in Industrial Revolution" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Wayne State University, 1973), pp. 39–119; Frank A. Cassell, *Merchant Congressman in the Young Republic: Samuel Smith of Maryland, 1752–1839* (Madison, Wis., 1971), pp. 32–209; and John Pancake, *Samuel Smith and the Politics of Business, 1752–1839* (University, Alabama, 1972), pp. 23–132, are the latest treatments of these events in Baltimore. The finest recent study of Baltimore privateering is Jerome R. Garitee, "Private Enterprise and Public Spirit: Baltimore Privateering in the War of 1812" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, American University, 1973).

But the return of peace in 1815 changed everything. Baltimore ships were excluded from the British and French West Indies; British manufactured goods, inventoried during the war, now flooded Baltimore's market to undersell the coarser quality goods made by Baltimore's textile industries that had sprung up during the war; and, finally, the return of peace ended the wartime demand in Europe for Baltimore's chief exports, wheat and flour. All of these changes depressed business conditions from 1815 through 1818, and, when combined with the practices of some of Baltimore's bankers, constituted the causal elements in the Panic of 1819, the pivotal event in the transition from the traditional to the nineteenth-century style of business enterprise.[5]

This Panic was peculiar and far more devastating in Baltimore than in the other major seaports. For one thing, the Panic occurred in two waves: the first in May resulted from the mismanagement and fraud within three of the city's ten banks, and the second in June when failures in the interior and in the other seaports finally involved Baltimore's merchants. About 150 (or 50 per cent) firms failed during that year, and numbered among them were the wealthiest in the community. Even Smith & Buchanan, for example, one of the largest mercantile firms in America at the time, failed. But more important than the physical number of these failures, however, was the fact that these failures represented the passing of a way of life; and as such, they were failures of social forms and norms. Those who failed represented the business style of the traditional merchant: the grand and easy manner of the commercial aristocrat who operated in a deferential social economy where reputation and long credits were the bases of business relations. The Panic destroyed the faith in this credit system because of the revelations of fraud and mismanagement and because so many merchants failed. After 1819, the business style of the traditional merchant could not function because cash and short credits became the norms of business relations.[6]

In part, Alexander Brown experienced the pre-war prosperity and escaped the post-war depression because he and his sons created a national and international network of firms and agents—a structure that could maximize opportunities and minimize risks. Born of Scots-Irish, Presbyterian parents in Ballymena, Antrim County, Ireland, a center in the manufacture and trade of Irish linens during the late eighteenth century, Brown (1764–1834) learned the trade before migrating to

[5] Browne, "Baltimore in the Nation," pp. 108–119, analyzes the causes of this Panic in Baltimore; but also see Rhoda M. Dorsey, "Comment," in David T. Gilchrist, editor, *The Growth of Seaport Cities, 1790–1825* (Charlottesville, Va., 1968), pp. 62–67; and Rothbard, *Panic of 1819*, Chapts. 1 and 2.

[6] Browne, "Baltimore in the Nation," pp. 120–206; and, for a more general view, Samuel Rezneck, "The Depression of 1819–1822, A Social History," *A.H.R.*, XXXIX (October, 1933), pp. 28–47. A few of the better contemporary descriptions of the Panic of 1819 in Baltimore can be found in James Robinson to Benjamin Clap, May 26, June 1, 9, 16, 23, July 12, 1819, Clap Family Papers, Burton Hist. Soc.; John Hastings to John Myers, June 17, 23, July 1, Sept. 1, 23, 1819, Meyers Family Papers, Norfolk Museum of Arts and Sciences; Anna Boyd to John McHenry, July 12, 26, Aug. 2, 6, 23, 1819, McHenry Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.; Alex. Brown & Sons to Adger & Black, May 21, June 7, 9, 1819, to James Caruthers, May 25, 1819, to William Gihon & Son, May 29, June 1, 18, July 3, 1819, to Campbell & Cumming, May 31, June 8, 1819, to Langdon Cheves, June 1, 1819, to McLanahan & Bogart, June 2, 9, 1819, to Dunlop & Orgain, June 4, 5, 1819, and to Robert Dickey, July 7, 1819, Alex. Brown & Sons Papers, Library of Congress [hereafter cited AB&S Papers].

Baltimore with his eldest son, William (1784–1864), in 1800. Two years later, his wife, Grace Davison Brown, and their three remaining children, George (1787–1859), John A. (1788–1872), and James (1791–1877), joined them. Making use of his Ballymena connections, Brown soon dominated the Irish linen trade in Baltimore by underselling his competitors. In 1810, William went to Liverpool where he organized the firm of William & James Brown & Company, and in 1811, the father organized the parent firm in Baltimore, Alex. Brown & Sons. A Philadelphia branch, John A. Brown & Co., was opened in 1818, and a New York branch, Brown Bros. & Co., was opened under James's management in 1825. As these firms were established, Brown also acquired agents in the American cotton ports: McLanahan & Bogart, Benjamin Story, Joseph Fowler, Jr., and John Hagan in New Orleans; William Cumming and James Riddle in Petersburg, Virginia; Adger & Black in Charleston; George B. Cumming and John Cumming in Savannah; McLoskey & Hagan in Mobile; and F. T. Mastin & Co., in Huntsville, Alabama.[7]

But Brown's prosperity from 1800 to 1819, his escape and actual benefiting from the Panic of 1819 were also due to his business methods that were very different from those of the traditional merchants. They, of course, had always regarded him as an eccentric. In comparison with them, Brown was extremely cautious and methodical; he was satisfied with a notoriously small (100 per cent) rate of profit; and he preferred to concentrate his capital in transactions involving almost no risk instead of dispersing it into several smaller, but higher-risk ventures. This last point, his concentration of capital in non-risk opportunities, was the crucial difference between Brown and the traditional merchants, for where they looked to monopolize markets through state-chartered privileges, Brown would do so through business and finance, independent from politics. Centralized administration and an insistence upon cash or short credit terms sharply distinguished Brown's business operations from those of the traditionalists.[8]

Given his business style, the Panic of 1819 and subsequent depression presented Brown with his greatest opportunities. One way that he immediately benefited from the Panic was to acquire ships and stock in the second Bank of the United States from merchants who were financially pressed and had to liquidate their assets. Or, to see this in more general terms, Brown acquired tangible wealth that increased his capital position at the very time that the Panic and subsequent depression were transforming business relations away from a credit toward a cash or capital basis. Brown put the ships into trade and used the bank stock as collateral for loans in England through the Liverpool house. A second way that Brown immediately benefited from The Panic

[7] The AB&S Papers are filled with letters to Brown's agents in the cotton ports; see note 1 for other sources.

[8] For Brown's business methods, see Robert & John Oliver to Andrew Thompson, Nov. 21, 1801, Oliver Record Books, Md. Hist. Soc.; Alex. Brown & Sons to William Gihon & Son, May 13, 1819, to William Brown, Oct. 27, 1819, to William & James Brown & Company, July 16, 1819, Aug. 7, 1820, May 18, 1822, to Hugh Munro & Co., Aug. 5, 1818, to Adger & Black, June 7, 1819, and to Campbell & Cumming, June 8, 1819, AB&S Papers.

was his acquisition of a national reputation for financial solidity and extreme honesty, and this gained him the firm friendship and influence of Langdon Cheves, president of the second Bank of the United States from February, 1819, until September, 1822. Cheves' friendship proved of incalculable benefit when Brown wished to place his agents in the cotton ports on the boards of directors of the local branches of the BUS.[9]

Because of his capital position, his reputation for financial solidity, his insistence upon cash or short credit terms of trade, and especially because his Baltimore and Liverpool houses offered competitive freight rates and known services—though haphazard sailing schedules—Brown came to monopolize Baltimore's shipping trade with Liverpool by 1822. How he then dealt with the other Baltimore merchants illustrates how his business strategy stemmed from his business style.

In March, 1822, he began negotiations with Thomas P. Cope & Sons to establish a line of packet ships between Philadelphia and Liverpool. By the summer, Brown agreed to provide most of the ships and Cope to manage a line running between Cope & Sons in Philadelphia and William & James Brown & Company in Liverpool. Baltimore's merchants, especially importers, were, of course, incensed at what they regarded as Brown's desertion of their city in its time of need, and they demanded to know why Brown did not establish a packet line between Baltimore and Liverpool. The answer, as Brown pointed out, was a matter of dollars and cents: such a packet line was uneconomic because Baltimore was the only major American seaport that had nothing to export to Liverpool, and, consequently, could not pay for the back freights of imported goods. Furthermore, Baltimore's market was small in comparison with those of New York and Philadelphia and did not attract as much volume of imported goods as those other markets did. What Brown might have added, had he been aware of it, was that the deflation of the 1820's operated against Baltimore in the sense that international businessmen curbed their speculations, forcing them to decrease and to even eliminate all marginally profitable trade—such as that between Baltimore and Liverpool. Yet Brown understood the importers' concern perfectly well: they must be able to import goods on an equal footing with Philadelphia's importers if Baltimore was to retain its position in the domestic selling market; otherwise, they may as well move to Philadelphia. And so Brown compromised with them by substituting a regular sailing schedule from William & James Brown & Company for a regular packet line to Baltimore so that the importers could at least count upon regular sailing dates, providing, of course, that his ships had full cargoes.[10]

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[9] For Brown benefiting from the Panic of 1819, see Alex. Brown & Sons to William Cumming, May 3, 1819, to William & James Brown & Company, Sept. 7, Nov. 4, 1820, Jan. 29, Sept. 27, 1823, and to Adger & Black, July 15, 1829. For examples of Brown using his stockholdings in the second Bank of the United States and his business reputation to elect his agents in the cotton ports to the boards of branches of the Bank, see Alex. Brown & Sons to John A. Brown, March 20, 1822, and to Joseph Fowler, Jr., Dec. 3, 1823, AB&S Papers.

[10] Alex. Brown & Sons to William & James Brown & Company, Dec. 8, 20, 1821, Feb. 7, March 22, 28, April 12, May 13, June 12, 17, Dec. 27, 1822, to ?, March 6, 1822, to John A. Brown, March 29, 1822, to Milnes, Holdsworth & Co., April 12, 1822, to William Goddard, March 17, 1824, to William Gihon & Son, April 16, 1824, AB&S Papers. Thomas P. Cope & Son to William & James Brown & Company, Aug. 20, 1822, Thomas P. Cope Papers, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

Alexander Brown's Four Sons: George, James, John, and Sir William. By J. C. Corner. *Owned by Brown Brothers, Harriman's Co.*

But this arrangement proved dissatisfactory in practice. Liverpool goods not only arrived later in Baltimore than in New York or Philadelphia, but they were also more expensive to Baltimore importers than to importers in the other two cities because of Baltimore's greater distance from Liverpool. In turn, this increased cost was reflected in a higher price structure in Baltimore that was passed on to the consumer. The importers thus complained again to Brown about their uncompetitive position in the domestic selling markets; and in November, 1823, Brown made a second offer to them. Brown would lower his freight rates from Liverpool to Baltimore to equal those from Liverpool to Philadelphia, if the importers (1) would use Brown's ships only and not other, transient ships, and (2) would pay the entire cost of transporting the goods

from Fell's Point, where trans-Atlantic ships landed in Baltimore and were unloaded, across Jones' Falls to the business section of the city, about a mile away. The dollars and cents of the situation, coupled with their need to reduce prices, again compelled Baltimore's importers to accept Brown's terms.[11]

These agreements with the importers also indicate Brown's assessment of the general American economy. He had recognized his city's weak position relative to New York and Philadelphia in the European and especially the British trade long before the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 would make it apparent to others. As early as 1821, he noticed that New York was the foremost American port in international trade and that foreign exchange rates for all American seaports were established there. In part, his perception stemmed from his concentration in shipping after 1819 and his withdrawal from the linen trade. In general, British linens lost their position in the American markets to the cheaper German linens, but Brown also realized that Baltimore's linen market was contracting in comparison with those of New York and Philadelphia; and, of course, it was uneconomic to continue a losing business.[12]

Besides shipping, however, Brown's withdrawal from the dry goods trade also led him into another—and eventually far more important—specialty: the financing of Baltimore's importers. Beginning this activity was both easy and logical because Brown had the expertise of the trade as well as an international organization through the Liverpool and Philadelphia houses, and the network of agencies in the cotton ports. But turning to merchant-banking was more than merely logical and profitable, it also fulfilled a particular and long-standing need in Baltimore. Following the American Revolution, Adrian Valck and Robert Gilmor had fulfilled this function, and they were succeeded by Robert and John Oliver during the 1790's. But after 1815, the Olivers had gradually curtailed their business activities, and Brown took advantage of the opportunity to extend his own credit. Though continuing this tradition, however, Brown changed it slightly because his international organization—which his predecessors did not have—enabled him to see the international situation as a whole and to realize the relatively weak position of Baltimore within it. Consequently, Brown made the Liverpool house the banker and the American houses, including the parent firm in Baltimore, the agents of the Liverpool firm.[13]

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[11] Alex. Brown & Sons to William & James Brown & Company, November 17, 1823, AB&S Papers. This controversy over a packet line between Baltimore and Liverpool came up a third time, in 1831, and again Brown argued that it was uneconomic. *Ibid.*, Aug. 6, Sept. 13, 1831.

[12] See the tables on pp. 483–487, 494–496, 500–505, 510–515, of Browne, "Baltimore in the Nation," that measure the different kinds of port activities in Baltimore compares them with the other major American seaports. For Brown's remarks on the relative decline of Baltimore, see Alex. Brown & Sons to William & James Brown & Company, Dec. 8, 20, 1821, Feb. 7, 1822, to William Goddard, Sept. 13, 1827; for Brown's observations about the New York market and foreign exchange rates, see Alex. Brown & Sons to William & James Brown & Company, March 31, 1821, to Adger & Black, June 25, 1822, March 17, 1823, and to George B. Cumming, July 19, 1822; and for Brown's statements about Baltimore's contracting linen market, see his letters to William Gihon & Son, April 22, 1823, April 16, 1824, and Dec. 18, 1827, AB&S Papers.

[13] An excellent, though long-neglected, article that touches upon these topics is Eugene L. Didier, "The

In the beginning, merchant-banking meant that Brown's network of firms offered financial services by extending their own personal credit, not their capital, to traders. Brown called it lending the "use of their name" and distinguished between two kinds of credit, "covered" and "uncovered." "Covered" credits—where the importer had produce or property lodged with William & James Brown & Company in Liverpool to serve as collateral—were the safest and easiest kind of credits for Brown; his problem was with "uncovered" credits, credits that were unsecured by property of any kind. Brown quickly discovered that granting "uncovered" credits required an assessment of a firm's standing: did they every appear to be pressed for money? were they punctual in their payments? were they amiable, energetic and businesslike—meaning were they like the Browns—but honest? and did the firm enjoy a reputation for business sagacity? Brown was thus forced to establish objective criteria for granting credits, a process that preceded the later credit rating systems that were formalized a generation later. In cases where Brown judged prospective clients to be safe, he opened an "uncovered" credit for them with the Liverpool house. This could be a specific amount of money in British pounds sterling unlimited in time, or it could be a specific credit running for a specified time period. In the latter case, Brown would reassess the firm's standing at the end of the time limit and would either reduce the credit, continue it on the same terms, or change the terms.[14]

The long depression of Baltimore's commerce from 1815 until the late 1830's made it possible and logical for Brown to specialize in merchant-banking. From the late 1820's until his death in 1834, he functioned primarily as a merchant-banker. He specialized in finance because he understood and believed in the new cash system and short credit way of business relations—and, of course, it was profitable. But two other reasons also made his specialization and business innovations possible: the emergence of a money economy and the development of the Anglo-American cotton trade into

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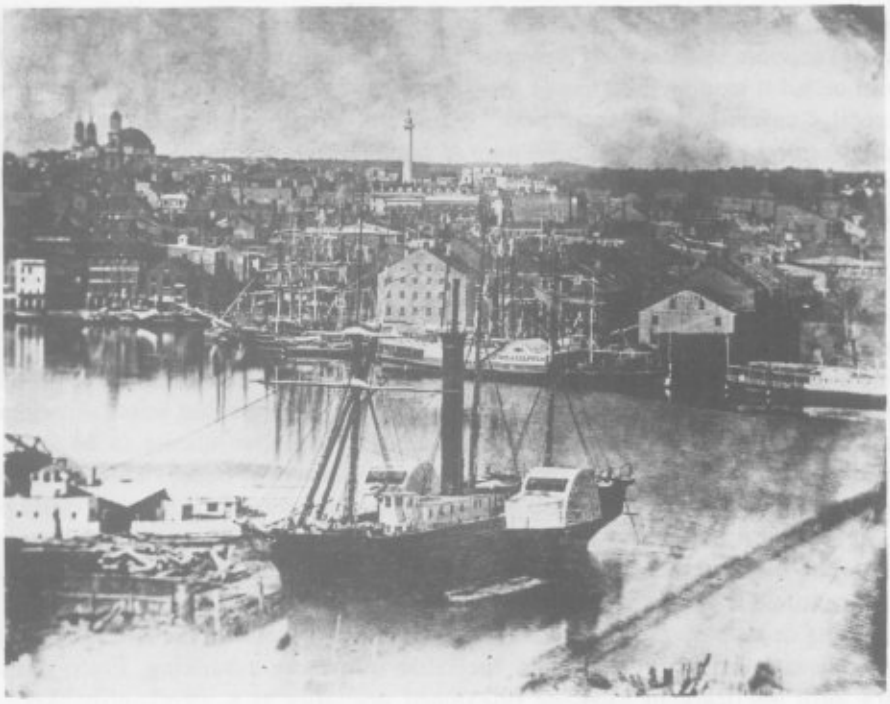
Social Athens of America," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, LXV (June, 1882), pp. 20–36. For Robert Gilmor's career, see Robert C. Alberts, *The Golden Voyage: The Life and Times of William Bingham, 1752–1804* (Boston, 1969), pp. 114–115, 131–132, 224–228, 415–419, 423, 426; also see Browne, "Baltimore in the Nation," pp. 48–52, 172–178; Stuart Bruchey, *Robert Oliver, Merchant of Baltimore, 1783–1819* (Baltimore, 1956), pp. 43–51, 109–131; Krooss and Gilbert, *American Business History*, p. 84.

[14] The AB&S Papers are peppered with letters from Alex. Brown & Sons to William & James Brown & Company opening credits for Baltimore importers. For samples that illustrate the above contentions, see those dated Nov. 16, 1821, Jan. 5, 7, 23, April 16, 1822 [the Jan. 5 letter is misdated 1821], Jan. 25, Feb. 6, April 1, Sept. 25, 1823, March 20, 1824, April 18, 28, May 5, Nov. 25, Dec. 5, 1825, April 24, Oct. 18, Nov. 10, 1826, Aug. 15, Oct. 23, 1827, Jan. 1, Dec. 13, 20, 1828, April 24, May 10, Sept. 24, Nov. 17, 1830. For a hint that Brown used these credits to coerce importers, see the letter dated Aug. 6, 1831. Brown's credit reports on the importers were coded and sometimes contained his personal comments on individual firms. One such credit report, dated May 16, 1821, was coded: "No. 1 we consider quite out of the power of chance—2, are in good credit and we think quite safe for any engagements they may come under—3, are rather doubtful or rather we do not know enough of them to place them in the second class or run any considerable risk with and some of them we make particular remarks on—". Ben Hodges was given a "2" rating in this report, and Brown commented "lives pretty extravagantly and has lost by tobacco"; Jacob Albert was also given a "2" rating and was "industrious & punctual"; John E. Rigdin was given a "3" rating and was "very troublesome to deal with"; and William Barker & Son were given a "3" rating and "were rich but have got a share in a flour Mill that may injure them". Firms that carried a "1" rating were not commented upon; AB&S Papers.



Baltimore Harbor View—Nineteenth Century. *Maryland Historical Society*

the most important commercial connection between those two trans-Atlantic economies.

The money economy resulted from certain historical developments. The banks and bank notes that had been created to maximize opportunities during the tremendously prosperous prewar years continued as social and economic facts into the declining commercial economy of Baltimore after the war. In this declining economy, the bank notes in circulation far exceeded the specie available to redeem them; and, most importantly, the establishment of state chartered banks as monetized and institutionalized credit had been an integral part of Baltimore's social economy for more than a generation. The social and economic necessity of a depressed economy thus prevented a reversion to the pre-1790's credit system as much as the vested interest—to say nothing of the legal foundations—of the banks did.[15]

[15] No new banks were chartered by the state from 1813 until 1834. A tabular summary of the financial positions of the banks in Baltimore can be found in *Niles' Weekly Register*, XIII (Dec. 27, 1817), p. 281. Although badly in need of revision, Alfred Cookman Bryan, *History of State Banking in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1899), remains the standard source on the subject.

Equally important to Brown's specialization in finance was the development and regularization of the Anglo-American cotton trade during the 1820's. This development allowed him to take advantage, through his international organization, of the opportunities offered by the depression and to escape Baltimore's declining relative position in trans-Atlantic trade. Brown traded in cotton until 1822 when a huge loss determined him to finance cotton traders instead of dealing directly in the article. This demanded certain business innovations. For example, he centralized operations through his Baltimore firm by advertising that Alex. Brown & Sons would handle all financial arrangements free of charge, and would also arrange insurance, brokerage facilities, and pay the cash advance on shipments going to the Liverpool firm. All of these services had formerly been provided by William & James Brown & Company. Together with offering cheaper commission rates, Brown's more efficient operations drew cotton merchants in the Southern ports to deal with his Baltimore firm; and as they did so, Brown expanded his most important business innovation, the drawing up of his own bills of exchange.[16]

Because this major business innovation was highly profitable, it was probably the main reason for Brown's specialization in finance. When cotton traders shipped cotton to the Liverpool house they would draw up a bill of exchange for two-thirds or three-fourths of the value of the cargo and send this bill, together with the bill of lading and proof of ownership, to the Baltimore firm. The Baltimore firm would pay the bill and Brown would thereby come to own the cotton. Traditional merchants in Brown's position customarily passed on the cotton trader's bill by simply crossing out the trader's name and endorsing it over to themselves. Bills of exchange thus passed as a form of money; and, in so far as most of them specified that they were not to be paid for sixty or ninety days, and thereby carried interest charges, they were used as investment vehicles for merchants with surplus funds.

But Brown did not operate this way. Instead of endorsing and passing on the original bill, his Baltimore firm issued a new bill of exchange in the name of Alex. Brown & Sons on the basis of the property or security of the original bill. As cotton shipments to the Liverpool firm increased over the decade, Alex. Brown & Sons became a regular and stable billmaker; as this occurred, Brown deliberately sold his bills at a slightly cheaper rate than the current market rate for such bills; and in this way Brown created a demand for his bills that increased his profits as the volume of his bill transactions increased. Moreover, such business strategy allowed him to take advantage of the seasonal fluctuations in the foreign exchange markets. For example, Brown would make and sell his bills in the spring and fall when the exchange rate was high—those being the heights of the trading season—and would buy bills during the

[16] Brown lost $39,000 trading in cotton in 1822. Alex. Brown & Sons to Adger & Black, January 21, Nov. 22, 1819, to McLanahan & Bogart, Feb. 8, 1819, to George B. Cumming, Jan. 18, 1820, to Benjamin Story, July 19, 1822, May 14, 1823, to William & James Brown & Company, Feb. 25, 1823, May 14, 1824, AB&S Papers.

summer and winter when the exchange rate was usually lower. By the late 1820's, after Brown's bills became internationally known and in demand, he was able to sell his bills at the highest prevailing exchange rate. In fact, Alex. Brown & Sons developed so successfully from cotton traders to financiers of such traders, that they became rivals to the second Bank of the United States in the American foreign exchange markets by the end of the decade.[17]

Brown's financial success brought with it the major problem of his later business years: the profitable conservation of his capital. Curiously enough, this marked the final stage in the transition from the "traditional" to the "modern" role of the merchant, for, as Brown's capital increased during the 1820's, his financial concern swung away from the extension of credits to the actual investment of capital. Again, Brown proved his resourcefulness, however, this time by Alex. Brown & Sons assuming the functions of commercial banking. On the one hand, he discounted the personal notes of merchants; that is, he not only continued to extend book credits to importers in the traditional manner, but he now also loaned his capital to different kinds of merchants on the basis of their promissory notes. Brown thus played a primary role in the institutionalization of mercantile credit through the Baltimore market for "business paper"—the promissory notes of the merchants. On the other hand, Brown provided banking facilities for purely financial organizations. Brown would open a credit in Liverpool, for example, for a private financial firm or for an American bank and would use his own capital for disbursements when drawn upon by the debtor. In all of these cases, money rather than a credit system based upon the transfer of goods underpinned his business relations. As such activities increased, and as the profitable but safe employment of capital became Brown's chief concern, the transformation of his social role was complete.[18]

Brown was successful because he combined breadth of vision, imagination and a business style that fit Baltimore's new commercial environment after the War of 1812. Luck played its part in his success, of course, but it was his unceasing and incredibly detailed attention to business—which meant to the world in which he lived—that was

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[17] Thomas Payne Govan, *Nicholas Biddle; Nationalist and Public Banker, 1786-1844* (Chicago, 1959), pp. 97-99, tells of the clash between Biddle and the Browns; Alex. Brown & Sons to Benjamin Story, Feb. 24, 1823, Jan. 30, 1827, to Adger & Black, Feb. 20, Sept. 5, 1827, Jan. 12, Feb. 2, 1828, to John Cumming, July 2, 1830. and to William & James Brown & Company, Aug. 6, 1831, AB&S Papers. For the development of the cotton trade, see Mathew B. Hammond, *The Cotton Industry: An Essay in American Economic History* (New York, 1897); Douglass C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790-1860* (New York, 1966); and Harold D. Woodman, *King Cotton & His Retainers: Financing and Marketing the Cotton Crop of the South, 1800-1925* (Lexington, Ky., 1968).

[18] Alex. Brown & Sons to William & James Brown & Company, Aug. 6, Dec. 29, 1831, April 12, 1832, June 5, Oct. 10, 1833, to Benjamin Story, July 15, 1831, to Yeatman, Woods & Company, June 27, 1831, May 23, Sept. 29, 1832, June 1, 1833, to James Adger, Aug. 19, 31, 1831. After Alexander died on April 4, 1834, George—who assumed management of the Baltimore firm—wrote to William & James Brown & Company, enclosing a letter from the Union Bank of Baltimore, one of President Jackson's "pet banks," that asked the Browns to arrange a loan in England for the bank. Yeatman, Woods & Company were financiers of cotton traders around the Nashville, Tennessee, area; AB&S Papers.

mainly responsible for his success. Yet Brown's historical importance lay in his pointing the way toward the nineteenth-century businessman: his drive for financial capitalism and monopoly through finance, and his tendency to specialize and centralize his functions. Brown pointed the way because he understood the trends of his time: he sought profit in a depression; he used his international organization to escape Baltimore's declining position in international trade; and he understood how the new money economy could be used for his own purposes. In sum, Brown the businessman was like most other people: he knew he lived in a social context and he sought to understand it. In his own way, he proved both his intelligence and social sensitivity.

A Glimpse of Baltimore Society in 1827: Letters by Henry D. Gilpin

RALPH D. GRAY AND GERALD E. HARTDAGEN

HENRY D. GILPIN, as a young lawyer and writer from Philadelphia, enjoyed traveling in the United States. Already the author of a guide book to travel in New York, New England, and Lower Canada,[1] Gilpin undertook in 1827 a trip to Virginia to view, in addition to the grave of his grandfather near Winchester,[2] the natural beauty of the state and to visit with family friends and acquaintances, particularly former President James Madison and his charming wife.[3] On both the outgoing and the return trip, Gilpin stopped at Oaklands, near Baltimore, to visit with the Charles Harpers and others. His name can be added to the list of callers at Doughoragen Manor, the home of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, by then the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence. Gilpin, in fact, was on hand for the observance of the 90th birthday of the revered signer, and his account of the occasion deserves wider circulation. Other descriptions and observations contained in these letters are also worthy of notice. They afford the modern day reader with meaningful glimpses into the life and society of an older age.

It was Gilpin's practice, while on tour, to send regular epistolary reports to his father, Joshua.[4] These lengthy letters not only informed the elder Gilpin of his son's

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[1] *A Northern Tour: Being a Guide to Saratoga, Lake George, Niagara, Canada, Boston &c. &c. through the States of Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, New York, Vermont, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, and Connecticut; Embracing an Account of the Canals, Colleges, Public Institutions, Natural Curiosities, and Interesting Objects therein* (Philadelphia, 1825). This work has sometimes been erroneously attributed to Thomas Gilpin, an uncle of the author.

[2] Thomas Gilpin (1728–1778), one of the Quakers exiled from Philadelphia during the Revolutionary War, had died in Virginia in 1778. Evidently none of the immediate family had ever visited the graveyard until Henry did so in 1827, when, however, he was unable to locate the exact gravesite within the cemetary. See [Thomas Gilpin], *Exiles in Virginia: With Observations on the Conduct of the Society of Friends during the Revolutionary War* (Philadelphia, 1848); Henry D. Gilpin to Joshua Gilpin, September 13, 15, 1827, Gilpin Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; hereafter this work will be cited as H.S.P.

[3] Gilpin's account of his travels in Virginia may be found in Ralph D. Gray, ed., "A Tour of Virginia in 1827: Letters of Henry D. Gilpin to his Father," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXVI (October, 1968), pp. 444–471. The originals are in the Gilpin Papers, H.S.P.

[4] Joshua Gilpin (1760–1842) was himself a writer and poet as well as businessman. He lived at Kentmere, on the Brandywine near Wilmington, Delaware, where he and his brother Thomas operated a paper mill. See Harold B. Hancock and Norman B. Wilkinson, "The Gilpins and Their Endless Papermaking Machine," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXXI (October, 1957), pp. 391–405.

activities and enabled him to experience vicariously the delights of travel and companionship an infirm body denied to him directly, but they in time were collected by the author as his "diary" for the period involved. The letters, consequently, though obviously never intended for publication, are remarkably candid, detailed, and complete.

Gilpin (1801–1860) was a young bachelor at the time of his visit to Maryland. Educated both in Philadelphia and abroad, he was admitted to the Philadelphia bar in 1822 and soon distinguished himself in his profession. He also pursued a writing and, later, a political career. Gilpin edited, and contributed to, the nation's first literary gift annual, *The Atlantic Souvenir*, published from 1826 to 1832 by Carey and Lea; he also edited the second revised edition of John Sanderson's *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence* (Philadelphia, 1828), to which he had contributed a number of sketches including that of Thomas Jefferson. Indeed, Gilpin demonstrated a flair for biography and wrote several of the "Pen Portraits" which were featured in the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, a partisan publication of the 1830's and 1840's.[5] His extraordinary talent for descriptive writing and personal characterization is revealed in his early correspondence. His interest in the "ladies" and his love of parties is also revealed in this correspondence, but Gilpin was no dilettante; he was a dedicated lawyer, writer, and historian. His later life was devoted to the study of the classics, and to his remarkable art and book collection.

The letters reproduced below describe Gilpin's sojourn in the Baltimore area during the month of September, 1827.[6] They have been reproduced exactly as written; any additions (to complete abbreviations) or omissions are indicated by brackets or ellipses. Limited editorial comment has been made to identify significant persons or items not sufficiently explained in the text.

I

Henry D. Gilpin to Joshua Gilpin, Baltimore, September 1, 1827

My dear Father

I am not able yet to give you much information on the particular points you committed to me, but I write at once that you may know where I am, and what I am doing. I arrived at New Castle an hour before the stages set off for Frenchtown and spent it chiefly in talking to Capt. Potts who goes out to Liverpool in the Lancaster . . . . We had a pleasant enough voyage here

[5] Gilpin became an effective and vocal supporter of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren in the 1820's and 1830's. Jackson made Gilpin the federal district attorney for Philadelphia, and later he appointed him to be one of the government directors of the Bank of the United States. He served in Washington under Van Buren as Solicitor of the Treasury and, briefly, as Attorney General. Gilpin retired from an active political career in 1841 to devote himself to his legal and historical interests. There is a short sketch of Gilpin's life, written by Professor Roy F. Nichols, in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928–1937), VII, pp. 315–316; hereafter this work will be cited as the *D.A.B.* See also Ralph D. Gray, "Henry D. Gilpin: A Pennsylvania Jacksonian," *Pennsylvania History*, XXXVII (October, 1970), pp. 340–351.

[6] The originals of these letters are in the Gilpin Papers, H.S.P., and are published with the kind permission of the Society.

. . . . We arrived a little before seven, and the first person that I met was my friend Mr. Tucker,[7] a gentleman of whom you may have heard me speak; he was formerly a member of Congress from Virginia, and is now professor of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy in the University at Charlottesville; as he was staying at Barnum's[8] he made me quite an agreeable companion for the evening. This morning C. Harper[9] found me out here before nine o'clock, but nót before I had an invitation to dine with Mr. Skinner[10] the postmaster who is quite a great man, and very hospitable. I have been spending the morning with Harper[,] Latrobe[11] and Mr. Walsh's[12] brother Charles . . . .[13] I have also been to pay a visit to a very beautiful young lady, a Miss Donaldson,[14] who is quite a belle, and a celebrated musician; in the evening I drive out to Oaklands'[15]—C. Harper's place, where I shall make my headquarter's during next week. If you wish to write, direct simply Baltimore, as I shall call at the post office every day. This house of Barnum is the most splendid hotel I have ever seen.

I must get ready for dinner, so with love to you all, Your ever affect. Son . . . .

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[7] George Tucker (1775–1861), an author and congressman, served as professor of moral philosophy at the University of Virginia for twenty years. Tipton R. Snavely, *George Tucker as Political Economist* (Charlottesville, 1964), pp. 2–3, 23–33; see also Robert Colin McLean, *George Tucker: Moral Philosopher and Man of Letters* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1961).

[8] Barnum's Hotel in Baltimore opened in 1825. It was "one of the noted hostelries" of the mid-nineteenth century. Dickens called it "the most comfortable of all the hotels of which I had any experience in the U.S." Closed in 1889, the site is now occupied by the Equitable Building. Maryland Writers' Program, Works Projects Administration, comp., *Maryland: A Guide to the Old Line State* (New York, 1940), p. 226.

[9] Charles Carroll Harper (1802–1837), oldest son of Robert Goodloe and Catherine Carroll Harper; he was the grandson of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Kate Mason Rowland, *The Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1737–1832, With His Correspondence and Public Papers* (New York, 1898), II, p. 439.

[10] John Stuart Skinner (1788–1851), agricultural editor and writer. From 1816 to 1837 Skinner served as the postmaster at Baltimore. In 1819 he established an agricultural paper, the *American Farmer*, which was the first successful agricultural periodical in the United States. He married Elizabeth G. Davies in 1812 and had three sons. *D.A.B.*, XVII, pp. 199–201.

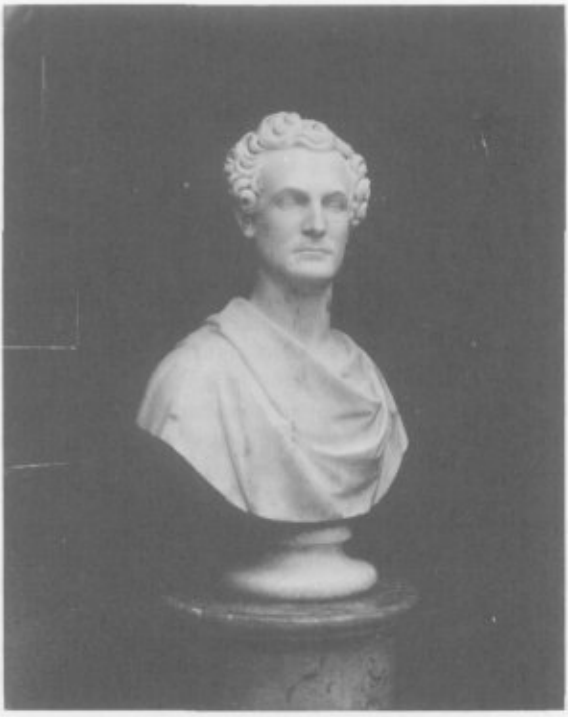
[11] John H. B. Latrobe (1803–1891), eldest son of the famous architect and engineer Benjamin H. Latrobe. Expecting to become an architect, he attended West Point, then the only school of engineering in the United States, from 1818 to 1821. Resigning from the academy upon the death of his father, he returned to Baltimore and entered the law office of Robert Goodloe Harper. Admitted to the bar in 1824, he helped draft the charter of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in 1827 and soon attained wide recognition as a railroad lawyer. *D.A.B.*, XI, pp. 27–28; see also J.E. Semmes, *John H.B. Latrobe and His Times* (1917).

[12] Robert Walsh (1784–1859), son of Robert and Elizabeth Steel Walsh of Baltimore. Moving to Philadelphia, where he edited the *American Register* in its last years (1809–10), he became a cofounder of the *National Gazette and Literary Register* in 1820, and in 1827 he established the *American Quarterly Review*, to which Gilpin contributed frequently. From 1818 to 1828 he was Professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania. *D.A.B.*, XIX, pp. 391–392.

[13] Charles St. Leger Walsh. In 1828 Charles was appointed Secretary of the United States Legation to Spain. J. C. Walsh, "Robert Walsh," *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, XXVI (1927), p. 224.

[14] Miss Donaldson has been identified only as a student of the French music teacher Gilles. She sang at many of his concerts and was reported by Robert Gilmor to have a "very fine" voice. "The Diary of Robert Gilmor," *Md. Hist. Mag.* XVII (1922), p. 249; hereafter this work will be cited as "Diary."

[15] The home of Charles Harper. See the will of Charles Carroll of Carrollton for the conveyance of Oaklands from Robert Goodloe Harper to Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Harper. Rowland, *Life of Charles Carroll*, II, p. 400.



Charles Carroll Harper (1802–1837). *Maryland Historical Society.*

II

Henry D. Gilpin to Joshua Gilpin, Baltimore, September 4, 1827

My dear Father

We have received no parcel by the boat, so that there is nothing to answer, & I have very little to say. My mother & the girls[16] are out paying visits & I think probably will not return before the time for sending down this note to the boat. They are indeed fully occupied with visits & parties—and this morning with the Franklin Institute[17] which is a resort of fashionable people.

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[16] Henry's mother was the former Mary Dilworth of Lancaster, England, whom Joshua Gilpin married while on a tour abroad. Henry, their eldest child, was born in England in 1801, and lived there again from 1811 to 1815, attending the school of Dr. Hamilton at Hemel-Hempstead. He had a number of younger sisters still living at home in 1827, of whom his favorite was Elizabeth (1804–1892). A list of the eight children of Joshua Gilpin may be found in Frank W. Leach, "Old Philadelphia Families, LI: Gilpin," *North American* (Philadelphia), May 24, 1908.

[17] Gilpin is almost certainly referring to the Maryland Institute for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts, which was inspired by the Franklin Institute at Philadelphia and founded in Baltimore by John H.B. Latrobe in 1825. *D.A.B.*, XI, pp. 27–28.

I have just received a note from James Bayard,[18] relative to the election, but it contains nothing about Kent & Sussex, on which all must depend; I hope to hear in the morning & that the result is in his favour; here every thing seems to be running fast in favour of Genl. Jackson.[19]

Your ever affect. Son, H. D. Gilpin

III

Henry D. Gilpin to Joshua Gilpin, Baltimore, September 6, 1827

My dear Father

You will have been somewhat surprised I suppose at not having heard from me since Saturday last, but I have been so much occupied and with so little change of situation or circumstances, that I have postponed [writing] until the very eve of my departure from Baltimore. I received your letter yesterday, and think that you managed matters exceedingly well . . . and that notwithstanding all my mother's forebodings it must have been a very pleasant visit to her and to you. I have attended to the different matters you desired here, so far as I could and will mention the result to you, in the order you set them down in your memorandum . . . .[20]

So much for your affairs, which I shall be able to complete on my return here, and to explain more fully than I can by letter, when I see you. Now for my own movements. I believe I described the proceedings of Friday & Saturday up to the time of my going to Mr. Skinner's the post-master's to dinner. I found there at three o'clock besides Mr. Tucker—Mrs. Gales,[21] of Washington, the wife of the Editor of the National Intelligencer & lady mayoress of the metropolis, a lady young & pretty enough to think herself a beauty, and smart enough to criticize novels & say things which were meant to be witty—Mrs. French,[22] a famous singer, whom you or the girls will remember as having given some concerts at Philadelphia a few years since—and a young lady, sufficiently pretty, whose name I could not hear, but whom I took to be a filling up cousin by her taking her seat quietly at the foot of the table—the attendants of these three graces, besides your humble servant, and the professor aforesaid, were Mr. Crawford,[23] the British Consul, an amiable quiet little man, who married a sister of the pretty Mrs. Martin[24] of whom you may have heard me frequently speak, and who has none of the *Beummagem* style of the Dawsons,[25] the former consulate family here, & now residing in

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[18] James Asheton Bayard, Jr. (1799–1880), a prominent Delaware lawyer and supporter of Andrew Jackson. *D.A.B.*, II, pp. 66–67.

[19] For Gilpin's interest in Andrew Jackson, see footnote 5.

[20] Henry here responded to six specific requests made by his father. These business matters related primarily to the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, then under construction. Joshua Gilpin was one of its original promoters, and his son was the company secretary for ten years, 1821–1831.

[21] Sarah Juliana Maria Lee Gales of Virginia, niece of "Light-Horse Harry" Lee. She was married to Joseph Gales, editor of the *National Intelligencer* and mayor of Washington from 1827 to 1830. The Gales were famous for their lavish entertainment which almost bankrupted them. *D.A.B.*, VII, pp. 100–101.

[22] Not otherwise identified.

[23] John Crawford was the British vice consul at Baltimore. "Diary," p. 245.

[24] Wife of the Attorney General of Nassau, New Providence. Her sister, Harriet McIntosh, had married John Crawford on June 30, 1824. *Baltimore American*, July 1, 1824; see also "Diary," p. 245.

[25] Possibly P. T. Dawson, whose name appears at a later date in the Foreign Office Lists as unpaid vice consul in Baltimore. Catherine L. Bazell, Library and Records Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London, to Gerald E. Hartdagen, ed., Nov. 6, 1972.

Philadelphia—Dr. Alexander,[26] who seems a standing dish in this neighbourhood, a quiet sort of a man who eternally rubs his hands, and talks as if he was thinking of a prescription, and afraid of being too positive on any matter—and Mr. David Hoffman,[27] a lawyer here, and . . . the founder of the Maryland Law Institute for which he has published a *prospectus* of a set of lectures, which if ever written would fill as many volumes as the Roman law before Justinian, & be about as great a jumble. The host & hostess with master Theodore Skinner completed the party—they are very excellent hospitable people—but rather *doubtful*—they tell you a great deal of "the Chancellor" [28]—he being the father of Mrs. S. which however does not prevent all the world from thinking him a great goose—of General Lafayette[29] whom they had at their house when he was here & who writes them letters since his return—of old Mr. Carroll,[30] whom Mr. S. sees at agricultural dinners, & visits on his birthday &c.— at a public dinner here some time since Mr. S. toasted a South American Minister who was present, to which the Diplomat replied by drinking "Mr. Skinner, *the best postmaster in the United States*"—a compliment something like that which Lafayette paid to the romantic Mrs. Rell[31] of New York, when he wrote in her fine album his obligations to her husband "*for forwarding his letters to France*." I ought not however to laugh at them for they were very kind and I passed a very pleasant day—indeed I did not leave them till dark, when I set out for Oakland, which I reached after a delightful moonlight ride of an hour.

I found Harper ready to receive me, and his pretty little wife waiting for me at the tea table.[32] We passed an hour or two in chattering away, and many inquiries were made after you & the girls, whom "my lady" as I have dubbed the pretty hostess wished to know very much. Harper & myself then walked for an hour in the piazza notwithstanding the dew & his wife's remonstrances & we then went to bed, where I slept like a top till eight o'clock on Sunday morning. The house is very small, but pretty, being an overseer's house, which Harper since his father's death has converted into a dwelling house; with John Latrobe's aid. They have turned the windows, doors, porches &c. into gothic & given it a beautiful appearance seated as it is on the side of a little green valley, with a fine spring of water close to the door, and a stream

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[26] Dr. Ashton Alexander (1772–1855) was prominent in medical circles, and was one of the founders of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty. According to Robert Gilmor, the doctor was "fond of dinners and society." His daughter was married to Chief Justice John Marshall. "Diary," p. 240.

[27] David Hoffman (1784–1854), a talented lawyer and professor at the University of Maryland; his brother was John Hoffman, a wealthy Baltimore merchant. "Diary," p. 240.

[28] Theodorick Bland (1776–1846), Commissioner to South America under President Monroe and for twenty-two years Chancellor of Maryland. Bland was the step-father of Elizabeth Davies Skinner. Mary K. Meyer, Assistant Librarian, Maryland Historical Society, to Gerald E. Hartdagen, ed., Sept. 18. 1972.

[29] General Lafayette had been invited by President Monroe to visit the United States in 1824. He arrived at Staten Island on August 15 and made a triumphal tour of the country which lasted for more than a year. His arrival in Baltimore on October 7 was the occasion for elaborate ceremonies and parties, *D.A.B.*, X, pp. 535–539; see also Rowland, *Life of Charles Carroll*, II, pp. 332–333.

[30] Charles Carroll of Carrollton (1737–1832), son of Charles Carroll of Annapolis and Elizabeth Brooke Carroll. Educated in France, he returned to Maryland at age 28 to work on the 10,000-acre tract in Frederick County known as Carrollton Manor. Signer of the Declaration of Independence, Carroll was one of Maryland's senators in the first federal congress. Following the death of Jefferson in 1826 until his own death in 1832, Carroll was famous throughout America as the sole surviving signer of the Declaration. *D.A.B.*, II, pp. 522–523; Rowland, *Life of Charles Carroll, passim;* Ellen Hart Smith, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1945).

[31] Not otherwise identified.

[32] Charlotte Chiffelle Harper, the niece of Mrs. Robert Gilmor, and Charles Harper were newlyweds, having been married on February 22, 1827, in Charleston, South Carolina. "Diary," p. 260.

running along the hollow about a hundred yards below—on this & in a fine grove with a turf like emerald itself is the Dairy, a building built by Genl. Harper[33] after a design by Latrobe taken I presume from the little temple on the Illipces given by Stuart,[34] as it has a portico of four Ionic columns in front. The family consisted merely of the squire & my lady, Mrs. Chiffelle her mother, & her little sister about six years old—Mrs. Harper[35] & Miss Emily[36] were at the manor & Miss Seton[37] had left them a few days before to go to Charles Carroll's at Homewood.[38]

I must close this letter as I have my trunk to pack & the piece of candle that remains, even my mother wd. not think sufficient for more than ten minutes. Love to you all. Yr. Ever affect. H.D.G.

Write to me at Washington until next Friday, then here.

IV

Henry D. Gilpin to Joshua Gilpin, Harper's Ferry, Virginia, September 7, 1827.

My dear Father

My last letter I believe brought us to Sunday which I passed entirely at Oaklands, in reading talking & walking over the farm, which is something more than a mere country seat. Harper has four hundred & fifty acres of land much of it of excellent quality, there is a noble collection of fruit trees in every variety & the greatest abundance—his dairy too is attended with the greatest care & much of his butter sent to market; by excellent management he says he has continued to make the expenses only exceed the produce $200 per annum & to be sure that is something since his father even without living there in the summer always found the deficit $500 or $600 at the end of the year. In the evening we had a visit from Mr. Caton[39] who spent an hour or two with us in talking very learnedly about subjects he knew nothing of. On Monday morning as soon as breakfast was over, we had the horses saddled, and I, mounted on Hotspur, & the squire, on Selim, set out to see the world. We first rode three or four miles through beautiful woods & a charming country to Homewood—Charles Carroll's place—it is a noble

[33] Robert Goodloe Harper was the son-in-law of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. He was sent to the United States Senate from Maryland in 1815, having been commissioned a brigadier-general of the Maryland militia in the preceding year. He died in Baltimore in 1825. Rowland, *Life of Charles Carroll*, II, pp. 249, 307, 331.

[34] Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828), famous for his portraits of George Washington. *D.A.B.*, XVIII, pp. 164–168.

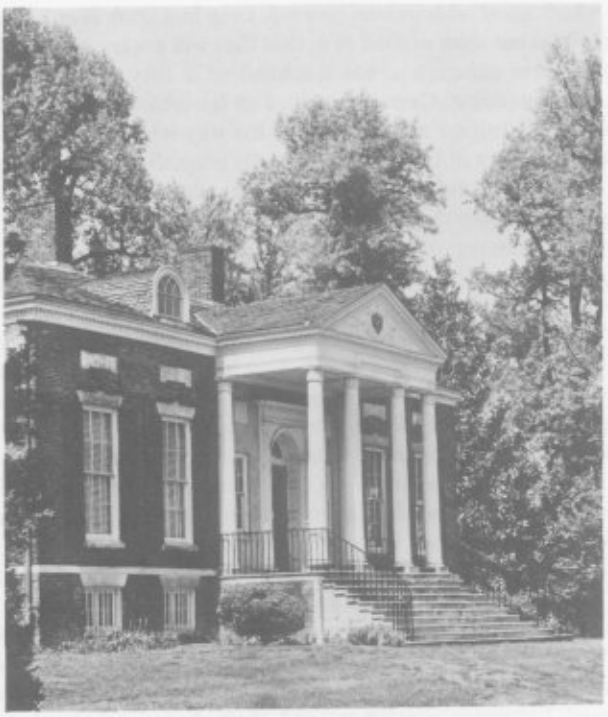
[35] Catherine Carroll Harper, youngest daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and widow of Robert Goodloe Harper. Rowland, *Life of Charles Carroll*, II, p. 439.

[36] Emily Harper Hinton (1812–1892), the youngest daughter of Robert and Catherine Harper. *Ibid.*

[37] Not otherwise identified.

[38] Home of Charles Carroll, a grandson of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who was later known as Colonel Charles Carroll. His father, Charles Carroll of Homewood, had died in 1825. Upon the death of his grandfather in 1832. Charles inherited Doughoregan Manor. Rowland, *Life of Charles Carroll*, II, 334–335; see also John Martin Hammond, *Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware*, (Philadelphia, 1914), pp. 122–123.

[39] Richard Caton, husband of Mary (Polly) Carroll, daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Catonsville, a suburb of Baltimore, bears his name. Their home, Brooklandwood, was given to Polly by her father on the occasion of her marriage. Rowland, *Life of Charles Carroll*, II, p. 106.



Homewood. *Photograph by Samuel A. Lauver.*

seat quite like an English country gentleman's—the house is only of a single story but very lofty and capacious with noble porticos on both fronts, and the whole neat & tasteful, without any appearance of Maryland slovenliness; indeed all around Baltimore there is quite as much elegance & taste, I think indeed much more, than about Philadelphia, nor is there any of that wretched attempt at finery without success, of which you see so much on the Eastern Shore. Carroll was lying on the sofa in his hall, conjugating the verb, as Tremaine[40] says, pretty steadily I fancy—he seemed glad to see us, & soon after his wife[41] made her appearance. She looks so altered & so old I shd. not have known her—never did two years make such a change; she inquired after & spoke of you all, but she does not at all take my fancy; I do not believe she makes Charles Carroll a good wife, at least not the proper sort of one. She will not let him associate with young men, & instead of bringing him out in the way his fortune & name require & his friends urge, she seems anxious to keep him exclusively to herself—it may force him imperceptibly if she does not take care to follow the course his father did to seek pleasures &

[40] An allusion to *Tremaine; or, The Man of Refinement* by Robert Plumer Ward, a novel which had been published in 1825. In Chapter XVII, Evelyn, the Parson's daughter, told Tremaine that leisure was a curse, for without work "We should *conjuguer le verbe*, and be as badly off as the poor prince, who with all his high rank was miserable, from having nothing else to do."

[41] Mary Digges Lee Carroll, who was married to Charles in 1825. Hammond, *Colonial Mansions*, p. 127.

society with those whom good associations now wd. keep him from ever knowing. They passed last winter at Homewood but were so tired of it, that they will not try it again. Carroll pays little or no attention to his farm although he has one hundred & fifty acres; they have scarcely any fruit & no garden worth noticing. Carroll joined us on horseback & rode with us as far as Mr. Oliver's[42] place where we stopped and he pursued his way into town. Mr. Oliver's is a noble seat, the house is after a design of Latrobe's & is really magnificent; the family had removed to town a day or two before so we did not see them but we rode round the grounds & enjoyed their beauty & the fine prospects from them. Leaving them we rode on into the city, but had not gone far, when a servant came running to say C. Carroll had been thrown from his horse; we returned & found him lying on a bench in a little tavern with Dr. Alexander at his side—he is a very unfortunate or perhaps careless rider as he has several times met with similar accidents—& we are afraid Mrs. C. will blame us for carrying him off, though he came entirely of his own accord. Dr. Alexander took him to his house & bled him & in the evening he rode back in a carriage to Homewood. We passed two or three hours in town to transact our affairs, & then got Miss Polly to give us dinner. Miss Polly you must know is the factotum of the whole Harper family being the housekeeper at the house in town, & residing there all the summer. She is a blooming spinster of about fifty[,] wears always a turban, a calico gown open in front, a pair of yellow slippers, and an enormous bunch of keys which are forever jingling. I am this minute as I flatter myself I have become a great favourite—We learned too from Miss Polly, that Miss Seton & Miss Emily had come down from the Manor but were about returning immediately—We theretore set off, on our gallant steeds in search of them, and found them dining at a friend's house; after a brief interview, we remounted & proceeded to Beech hill, Mr. Robert Gilmore's[43] [*sic*] which is a most beautiful spot, commanding a noble view of the Chesapeake the Patapsco & both its shores. In returning we passed by several of the country seats of the principal Baltimore gentlemen, and through an exceedingly wild & romantic country on the banks of Jones' Falls—so much so indeed that you wd. believe yourself hundreds of miles from a large city—and reached Oakland about half after seven when my lady gave us our suppers & [a] good scolding for staying out so late. Our ride made us sleep pretty soundly & it was after eight on Tuesday morning when we sat down to breakfast. We stayed quietly at home, all the morning or only walked over the farm, which Harper is very regular in doing when out there—after dinner we rode over to Homewood to inquire after Carroll, & found him extended on the sofa, though not seriously hurt; he had received a severe contusion on the thigh, which was painful & obliged him to remain quite—it however broke up a party at dinner he & his wife were to have had a[t] Oaklands the next day, & one he had invited us to, at Homewood on Thursday—the moon was so bright—& the air so mild that we sauntered back slowly through the woods & were welcomed with another scolding. On Wednesday I performed a memorable exploit, no less than rising at five o'clock, riding Selim into town & breakfasting at Miss Polly's before seven. I then transacted sundry matters of which I have written you word, and returned to Oakland at eleven o'clock; I had scarcely reached there when I had to scamper off & make my toilet to meet a party who came out to dine; it consisted of Mr. & Mrs. R.

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[42] Robert Oliver was a close friend of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and was named one of the executors of his will. His estate, "Green Mount," was about one mile from Homewood. Rowland, *Life of Charles Carroll*, II, pp. 244, 415; for a study of his business career, see Stuart Bruchey, *Robert Oliver, Merchant of Baltimore, 1783–1819* (Baltimore, 1956).

[43] Robert Gilmor (1773–1848) was a wealthy Baltimore merchant and diarist. Rowland called his estate Beechwood rather than Beech Hill, but the latter is correct. Rowland, *Life of Charles Carroll*, II, p. 244; see also "Diary," p. 232.

Entrance Hall of Homewood. *Maryland Historical Society.*

Gilmor,[44] Miss Gregorie[45] of Charleston a very pretty & lively young lady, Miss Ladson a sister of Mrs. Chiffelle, & Miss Banon an adopted daughter of Mrs. Gilmor, & Dr. Alexander! Mr. G. spoke of & asked after you, he was very polite indeed to me, his wife is a beautiful lady—after a very pleasant dinner all the party returned to home except Miss Ladson & Miss Gregorie who stayed with us, & we had a real rattle till ten o'clock. Thursday being my last day I passed of course at Oakland—in the morning Miss Gregorie & myself took a long & most romantic ramble through the woods to the family grave yard, where there are some beautiful monuments especially one to Genl. Harper, erected by Charles—& thence we went to the Rock Spring, a wild & beautiful spot which derives its name as you may suppose from a fine stream which issues from a rock—here we passed an hour or two very sentimentally carving on trees, & planting slips, and [doing] such other things as are becoming such rambles. The afternoon I devoted entirely to my lady & the squire as all the rest went to walk, and at ½ past six o'clock I left them with I assure you, feelings not of regret but of the sincerest affection for the kindness they had shown me—they made me positively promise to return there & go with them to the Manor[46] for a day to see old Mr. Carroll—indeed Harper wanted to take me there at once, but I knew he cd. not conveniently go, & I therefore deferred it. I rode Selim into town, having sent in

[44] Robert Gilmor's second wife was the former Sarah Reeve Ladson of Charleston, South Carolina. "Diary," p. 232.

[45] Ann Gregorie was the niece of Mrs. Robert Gilmor. "Diary," p. 258.

[46] Charles Carroll of Carrollton's Doughoregan Manor, his country home located in Howard County. Hammond, *Colonial Mansions*, pp. 110–130.

my trunk by the market cart, paid several visits I had yet to make, took my place for Harper's Ferry,[47] wrote you a letter & went to bed in one of Barnum's excellent rooms.

The adventures of to-day (Friday) I must postpone till my next letter, merely telling you, that I now write at eleven o'clock in a little room in the tavern at Harper's Ferry, and that I proceed early in the morning to Winchester. Love to you all, Your ever affect. Son, H. D. Gilpin.

V

Henry D. Gilpin to Joshua Gilpin, Philadelphia, September 22, 1827.

My dear Father

I have at last the pleasure of writing to you again from my own office, which I arrived at this morning before 9 o'clock. I believe I last wrote you from Baltimore on Monday, mentioning my arrival there . . . . I found Charles Harper in Baltimore, and we took a chop together in Gay Street, and in the evening proceeded to Oakland, where I was received with the kindest of welcomes and took up again my old quarters with true pleasure. Tuesday was a rainy day, and we kept quietly at home, there being nobody but Harper, my lady, & Mrs. Chiffelle. I was glad of the repose after so long a journey, and could have enjoyed it no where more unless at Kentmere.[48] On Wednesday morning I took Selim and rode into town to get your letters, & make some calls; having done which, I proceeded to Beech Hill, Mr. Robert Gilmor's place, to see the family & pretty, lively acquaintance Miss Gregorie, whom I probably mentioned before as having been at Oakland before I left there for Virginia. After an hour spent with them Harper & myself got into the carriage & drove up to the Manor which is sixteen miles from Baltimore, near the road I traveled to Harper's Ferry. We found the family there expecting us, and joined old Mr. Carroll & two or three other gentlemen at the dinner table; he is a nice little old man, with a sharp face, not very thin, & gay benevolent face—his hair is very white & long being tied with a ribbon behind. He wears drab breeches & worsted stockings, with an old fashioned waistcoat with long pockets hanging down, a large wrapper or cloak, silk in summer & cloth in colder weather, which he tucks up & holds round him as he walks, so as to look quite funny. His conversation is very lively & pleasant though not very profound, and he seems to take great interest in all that is going on, mixing a great deal with the family. His habits are remarkably temperate—when well he rises every morning at five—walks ½ a mile to a cold spring bath house—takes a bath and returns to breakfast often before the rest of the family are up—he generally sits at the dinner table about a quarter of an hour after the ladies, & drinks a glass or two of wine, when he retires to his library—he has on the ground floor, his library, chamber & closet, where he remains when he does not feel inclined to join in the bustle which is usually going on in the rest of the house; in the former room are some family portraits which I think wd. made Elizabeth laugh pretty loudly—consisting of ladies in enormous draperies[,] craped hair, long waists, garlands of flowers &c.—little boys in pink purple or scarlet knee breeches, standing in the midst of banks of flowers, venerable faces peeping from among robes of state & enormous wigs &c. &c. The whole place is a sample of southern hospitality on its greatest scale as to carelessness & kindness though not as to splendour which certainly never is

[47] For Gilpin's account of his trip to Virginia through Harper's Ferry see Gray, "A Tour of Virginia in 1827."

[48] Kentmere was the home of the Gilpin family and the site of their famous paper mill, located along the Brandywine near Wilmington, Delaware. Hancock and Wilkinson, "The Gilpins and Their Endless Papermaking Machine."

City Hotel—Barums. From *Picture of Baltimore* by F. Lucas, Jr.

thought about. The revenue of Mr. Carroll, which is immense, arises entirely from his other large estates spread over all parts of Maryland, and from personal property.[49] This manor which is called Doughoragen or "the house of Oregon"—from some Irish branch of the family[—] comprises in a single tract thirteen thousand five hundred acres of excellent land, in one of the finest portions of the state known as Elkridge—there are on it two hundred & fifty negroes, and the whole is a single farm under the management of an overseer—Mr. Carroll generally lives here about seven months of the year. After this you will scarcely believe me when I tell you that this estate costs annually one or two thousand dollars more than it produces. Genl. Harper & Mr. Caton have frequently endeavoured to prevail on the old gentleman to divide it into farms, lease some of them, & make other improvements, but he does not like trouble & never could be prevailed on to do so. The house is an old one or at least the gradual growth of several generations, parts having been from time to time added—some one story, some two—some rough cast, others brick—so that although full of rooms, it is quite an insignificant place—it has two uniform wings—almost the only parts that are so, one being a chapel & the other a kitchen. On one front is an old fashioned porch opening on the road of entrance—on the other a similar one looking on the garden, which is large, with broad "closely-shaven-green" walks that are very pleasant although the flower beds & fruit trees

[49] Some idea of Charles Carroll of Carrollton's wealth may be gained from the fact that on his death in 1832 he owned more than 80,000 acres of land in Maryland and 27,691 acres in Bradford County, Pennsylvania. Hammond, *Colonial Mansions*, pp. 113–114.

along side of them, have but little pretension either to beauty, variety or excellence. The interior besides the chambers which are very numerous both up & down stairs, and Mr. Carroll's rooms, consists of a large wainscoated irregular hall, and two parlours; presenting in their furniture a singular medley of old and modern fashions—there are here fine new curtains of the gayest colours; there sofas & chairs, covered with glorious old cushions, and so deep that you cannot sit, but must really lie back in them—there is perhaps a large fire in one room, & none in another—a card table in full operation in one—a harp, guitar, and songs sounding in another—in one people eating away, in another chattering or whispering in corners. Everybody seems to catch in ten minutes all the freedom & ease of the place. When you arrive there is generally a crowd in the porch to welcome you, the old gentleman comes out to shake hands, & either stays & talks or if busy goes back in a few minutes to his room—every body is glad to see you, but no body takes any trouble—you get up if you choose when the chapel bell rings at seven, & hear prayers & on feast days, mass—if the old gentleman has not appeared, you wait until he is ready for breakfast, but any time after that the breakfast table remains & you eat it when you choose—on a large table in the hall, through the middle of the day, there are punch, toddy, lemonade, wine cakes, & all that sort of thing, with heaps of newspapers, new novels & You may loll on the sofa & read them, & nobody expects you to rise, even ladies, unless inclined—you meet little parties in the garden, but you need not join them unless you like—there are guns, & you may go to shoot, there are horses and you may ride—a bath & you can bathe. You stay a day or a week, welcomed when you come, & going away at any hour you choose. You meet the pleasantest people of Baltimore and the neighbourhood & many strangers—the family itself, which embraces, children, grandchildren, & great grandchildren is large & contains several characters—we had too staying there, the Archbishop of Baltimore,[50] a little funny looking old man, with his silk, tight gown & belt, his scull cap drawn closely over his bald head, & his golden cross hanging to his waist, talking an odd mixture of latin, english & french—Mr. & Mrs. Bankhead,[51] of the English legation—the husband a goose but the wife, a pretty, pale, thin faced little girl hardly twenty & of so much naivete that she said things which made many people feel rather foolish—Mr. Ousely [sic],[52] the Secretary of the British Ambassador, who wears enormous moustaches, & looks so ugly that it is long before you can bear to approach him, but who proves on farther acquaintance to be modest, sensible & remarkably well informed—Mrs. Decatur,[53] who *was* a great belle, which she still shows, talking incessantly & not badly, liking gentlemen better than ladies, & knowing every body & every thing, especially political & diplomatic—Miss Campbell[54] the most tasteful dresser of the

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[50] Ambrose Marechal (1764–1828), Archbishop of Baltimore from 1817 until his death. *D.A.B.*, XII, pp. 279–280.

[51] Charles Bankhead was appointed Secretary to the Legation at Washington on January 3, 1826, and served in that position until October, 1838, when he was transferred to Constantinople. Catherine L. Bazell, Library and Records Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London, to Gerald E. Hartdagen, ed., Nov. 6, 1972.

[52] Sir William Gore Ouseley (1797–1866) became a paid attaché at Washington, D.C., in November, 1825, and remained there for seven years. In 1832 he published *Remarks on the Statistics and Political Institutions of the United States, with some Observations on the Ecclesiastical System of America, her Sources of Revenue, &c.*, which gave a highly favorable view of American institutions. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XIV, p. 1258.

[53] Mrs. Decatur was the widow of Commodore Stephen Decatur, who had been killed in a duel on March 22, 1820. She was a close friend of the Richard Catons. Rowland, *Life of Charles Carroll*, II, pp. 283, 284, 308, 320–322, 327.

[54] Identified only as the sister of Mrs. Charles Ridgeley. "Diary," p. 248.

Archbishop Ambrose Marèchal (1768–1828). By Philip Tilyard.

Baltimore town & a pleasant young lady besides—Mr. Taney,[55] the chief Maryland lawyer, & just appointed Attorney General, a gentleman with whom I was much gratified—Miss Seton—Miss Emily Harper & many others were all there, staying—& as you may suppose made the company sufficiently various & agreeable. Thursday was old Mr. Carroll's ninety first birthday[*sic*], & a grand gala—it was too the day of St. Charles Borromeo,[56] his patron saint—& as the old gentleman is very pious, he was busy with the Archbishop all the morning, but about twelve he joined the party—& about that time too, the guests from around poured in—the Baltimoreans, in their gigs & carriages, the neighbours & especially the Elkridgers, on their fox hunters, which they are famous for—forty four persons sat down to table, we had glorious saddles of venison & mutton, plum puddings, & substantials as well as *Kickshaws* of all sorts—after dinner the old gentleman drank two glasses of champaigne—& then left his grandson Charles Carroll to do the honours with wine & regents' punch. Many of the guests remained all night, but the Elkridgers, all dashed off long after dark, & I fancy must have needed all their horsemanship to avoid *spilling*—we sat up with the ladies, playing various games, singing, &c. &c. until very late. I must mention a toast which Mr. Robert Gilmor gave as soon as the old gentleman left the table, which I then thought beautiful, though I will not answer for its beauty being somewhat increased by the effects of champaigne & punch—"May public & private virtue be crowned ever as now with the garland of years."

I was to leave Baltimore the next evening, Friday, at 5 o'clock for Philadelphia, having already somewhat exceeded the time [allotted] for my absence. Mr. Gilmor however insisted that I shd. dine with him at Beech Hill before I went. He therefore with Harper & myself, left the Manor at ten o'clock, & drove to Beech Hill, where we remained to dine & at four o'clock,

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[55] Roger Brooke Taney (1777–1864) was, in turn, the Attorney General of Maryland and of the United States, Secretary of the Treasury, and Chief Justice of the United States. An eminent lawyer, he resided in Baltimore after 1823. *D.A.B.*, XVIII, pp. 289–294.

[56] St. Charles Borromeo (1538–1584), Archbishop of Milan and Cardinal. He was canonized by Paul V in 1610. Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater, eds., *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, IV, pp. 255–262.

H. & myself drove into Baltimore & just caught the boat. Mr. Gilmor is a very pleasant hospitable gentleman though something too much of a gossip, which perhaps arises from his entire leisure. He has a very large fortune & no children—his collection of pictures is I suppose the best in the United States—indeed his house in Baltimore is quite a bijou, with its paintings, books, cabinet of minerals, of which he is very fond, & other things of that kind. Mrs. Gilmor is a great beauty, & very amiable, and with all this & Miss Gregorie to boot, you may suppose I was sorry enough when four o'clock came.

There was no one in the boat whom I knew, so that the passage was not very pleasant, but I had amusement enough in thinking of the various adventures I had met with & the pleasant scenes I had passed through since I left home. These will leave me much to say to you, that I could not mention in letters, & I reserve them for next Saturday when I hope to see you all at Kentmere.

Love to you all

Your ever affect. Son
H. D. Gilpin

Thomas Stone and the Reorganization of the Maryland Council of Safety, 1776

JEAN H. VIVIAN

LIKE A CHESAPEAKE schooner running on the wind, political change swept through Maryland between May 1774 and July 1775. In those fourteen months the colony responded to Boston's plea for concerted American resistance to the "Coercive Acts," twice sent delegates to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, concurred in and implemented a trade embargo against the mother country, and established an independent militia. The work of extralegal provincial conventions and of local committees of correspondence and observation, these challenges to British imperial authority carried with them an overt usurpation of proprietary prerogative.[1]

The Provincial Convention held at Annapolis from July 26 to August 14, 1775, adopted the most far-reaching resolutions to date regarding the internal government of Maryland and gave strong indication it would fill the void caused by the disintegration of proprietary control. The Convention required all freemen to sign an association to uphold public order and support continued commercial and military resistance against Great Britain; voted to raise forty companies of minutemen and to print more than $266,000 in bills of credit; created a Council of Safety to meet during recess of the parent body; and issued directives for settlement or continuance of court suits.[2]

"We yet retain the forms of our Government," wrote a leading member of the Convention a few days after adjournment, "but there is no real force or efficacy in it." Should war come, Thomas Johnson, Jr., predicted, "I dare say this Province will not hesitate to discharge all [proprietary] officers, and go boldly into it at once."[3] Sir

[1] *Proceedings of the Conventions of the Province of Maryland, Held at the City of Annapolis in 1774, 1775, and 1776* (Baltimore, 1836), pp. 3–10 and 12; hereinafter cited as *Proceedings of the Conventions*. Activities of the pre-Revolutionary meetings and committees in the counties and towns may be followed in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), May 26, June 2, 9, and 16, Aug. 11 and 18, and Nov. 24, 1774, Jan. 19 and June 8, 1775; Rind's *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), July 7 and Aug. 25, 1774; Alexander Hamilton to James Brown and Company, May 30 (postscript) and June 13, 1774, in "The Letterbooks of Alexander Hamilton, Piscataway Factor," ed. Richard K. MacMaster and David C. Skaggs, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LXI (June 1966), pp. 162 and 164; and extracts of letters from Annapolis dated Dec. 22 and 31, 1774, in *Letters on the American Revolution, 1774–1776*, ed. Margaret W. Willard (Boston, 1925), pp. 39 and 46–47.

[2] William H. Browne, *et al.*, eds., *Archives of Maryland* (71 vols. to date; Baltimore, 1883–1970), XI, pp. 15–16, 22–24, and 31–33. The Convention journal printed in the *Archives of Maryland* provides greater detail than the version that appears in the *Proceedings of the Conventions*, pp. 17–36.

[3] Thomas Johnson, Jr., to Horatio Gates, Aug. 18, 1775, in *American Archives*, comp. Peter Force, 4th Series (6 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1833–46), III, p. 158.

Robert Eden, governor of Maryland since 1769, was more circumspect; yet he reached essentially the same conclusion. He had always tried, he assured the British secretary of state for the colonies, "by the most soothing Measures I could safely use, and yielding to the Storm when I could not resist it, to preserve some hold of the Helm of Government, that I might steer . . . clear of those Shoals, which all here must sooner or later, I fear get shipwreck'd upon." [4]

What troubled Eden more than any other single action of the Convention was the establishment of the Council of Safety. The dominion vested in its members, he contended, "supposing their grand Favorite Montesquieu, with Locke & Blackstone to be right," amounted to "a real & oppressive Tyranny in the very Heart of the province." He also realized that the Council, designed to give continuity to the patriot cause, stood to neutralize his last vestiges of rule.[5]

Subject to the assembly that created it, the Council did receive broad and diverse jurisdiction. Its charter of powers, and other major resolutions adopted during the Convention, emerged from a nine-man committee appointed July 27 to suggest "ways and means to put this Province into the best State of Defence." [6] The plan that won approval on August 14, the last day of the session, called for a Council of sixteen men divided equally between the Eastern and Western Shores. Membership was not limited to Convention delegates. Within general guidelines the Council had complete authority to supervise defense preparations and to regulate the Convention's military forces. It could commission and remove field officers, determine rank, activate the militia, and order minutemen into neighboring colonies.

Although it preferrred to have the entire Council reach decisions, the Convention empowered five members from one shore, or "such of them as shall be in this Province," to authorize courts-martial, call out the troops on their side of Chesapeake Bay, and "hear, determine and punish high and dangerous Offences." The incumbents could also draw upon public funds for expenses incurred, summon the Convention into session, and "execute such other powers as may be entrusted to them." Each time the Convention met it was to receive an account of the Council's transactions and to rotate half of the membership.[7]

The charter agreed upon in August 1775 was in force only five months. The next Convention, on January 17, 1776, adopted a document that salvaged some of the Council's original authority but extensively revised its composition and a number of its functions. The new charter proved to be more durable than its predecessor and served as the basic framework for the Council until it passed out of existence in March

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[4] Eden to the Earl of Dartmouth, Aug. 27, 1775, "Correspondence of Governor Eden," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, II (Mar.–Dec. 1907), p. 11.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 10 and 11.

[6] *Archives of Maryland*, XI, pp. 5 and 13. The committee included six of the colony's seven delegates to Congress—Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, Jr., Robert Goldsborough, Samuel Chase, William Paca, and Thomas Stone—and Charles Carroll, Barrister, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and James Hollyday.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 22–24.

Thomas Stone. By Francis Blackwell Mayers. *Library of Congress.*

1777. The jurisdiction and duties stipulated in early 1776, then, are of more than passing interest because within those lines of authority the Council operated during the final demise of the Eden administration, the decision for independence, and the transfer of power to the state government under the Constitution of 1776.

Few working papers of the Provincial Conventions of Maryland are extant, and seldom is it possible to attribute authorship of any given measure. In the case of the reorganized Council of Safety, however, what is evidently the original draft presented to and accepted by the Convention has survived among the Executive Papers at the Hall of Records in Annapolis. The four-page document is undated and unsigned, but the handwriting is clearly identifiable as that of Thomas Stone, a delegate to the

Convention from Charles County.[8] This is the earliest known piece of legislation from the pen of Stone, whose rise to political prominence in Maryland coincided with the Revolutionary crisis and who thereafter held office continually until his death in 1787.

Scion of a family whose men had been active in provincial affairs since the time of William Stone, the third proprietary governor of Maryland, Thomas Stone was educated in the colony, read law in Annapolis, and qualified as an attorney before the Mayor's Court of Annapolis in April 1765.[9] He soon established his legal circuit on the Western Shore and within a few years handled up to half of the litigation in his home county.[10] His first elective positions came in June 1774 when an extralegal meeting of Charles County residents chose him as a member of the local committee of correspondence and of the first Provincial Convention. Six months later the third meeting of the Convention named Stone a delegate to the Continental Congress.[11] At thirty-two years of age, he was the youngest delegate from Maryland.

Stone attended Congress in Philadelphia from May to July 1775, then returned to Annapolis for the Provincial Convention. There he served on the most important committee of the session, that charged with preparing a plan of defense for the colony.[12] One product of the committee's deliberations was the charter for the Council of Safety. At the close of the session Stone was chosen by ballot to the first Council and re-elected a delegate to the Continental Congress, which he attended again during the autumn.[13] He was back in Annapolis for the Provincial Convention that began December 7.[14]

Earlier optimism that the British Parliament would bow before the American trade boycott and redress colonial grievances had given way to harsher realities by the beginning of winter 1775–76. Because Annapolis was vulnerable to attack should British warships sail up the Bay, many residents quit the city even before the Convention opened. One royal official who remained in the capital described a dreary scene. "Our harbors—our rivers are deserted," he reported. "The cheerful sound of industry is heard no more; activity is only exerted in warlike preparations . . . and a continued succession of aggravated reports agitate the mind and foment the general discontent." [15]

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[8] Executive Papers, Provincial Convention, 1775–1777, box 1, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland. Through fortunate coincidence, an addendum in Stone's hand, accepted in Convention the day before the plan for the Council of Safety, is in the Etting Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. The scripts match. See also *Proceedings of the Conventions*, p. 111.

[9] Annapolis Records 3, 1765–1772, fol. 35, Hall of Records.

[10] Circuit Court Records, Charles County, Liber T, No. 3 (1770–1772) and Liber W, No. 3 (1773–1774), passim, *ibid.*

[11] *Maryland Gazette*, June 16, 1774; *Proceedings of the Conventions*, p. 10.

[12] *Archives of Maryland*, XI, p. 5.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 31 and 34. Stone received fifteen votes on both ballots; in each instance the greatest number of votes any candidate obtained was sixteen. Archives of Maryland, Red Book II, Part 1, fols. 26 and 27, Hall of Records.

[14] *Proceedings of the Conventions*, p. 39.

[15] William Eddis, *Letters from America*, ed. Aubrey C. Land (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), pp. 127 and 131.

Charles Goldsborough. *Maryland Historical Society.*

The most pressing problem facing the Provincial Convention was the threat of internal insurrection. Although the exodus of Loyalists from Maryland had begun, thousands more, particularly those living on the lower Eastern Shore, were intent upon maintaining both their homes and their fidelity to the mother country. What made their resistance seem especially ominous was the possibility that British vessels and the deposed royal governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, might respond to Loyalist overtures for assistance. Nor was Dunmore's famous proclamation of November 1775, offering freedom to all slaves and bond servants who came over to his majesty's forces, calculated to ease the apprehensions of Maryland planters and politicians.[16]

During its first three weeks the Convention several times resolved itself into a committee of the whole house to discuss the state of the province.[17] The substance of its deliberations is unknown but surely encompassed the activities of the Loyalists,

[16] Eden to Dartmouth, Aug. 27 and Sept. 9, 1775, and Eden to Lord George Germain, Jan. 25, 1776, "Correspondence of Governor Eden," pp. 13, 98, and 103; Committee of Observation of Worcester County, Md., to the Continental Congress, Nov. 16, 1775, Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789 (Microcopy No. 247, National Archives, Washington, D.C.), Item 70, Maryland and Delaware State Papers, reel 84, fol. 1.

[17] *Proceedings of the Conventions*, pp. 43, 52–53, 55, 56, 64, and 65.

Dunmore, and British cruisers in the Bay. Finally, on New Year's Day of 1776, the Convention dissolved the committee of the whole and adopted several crucial resolutions. It ordered the province "immediately put in the best state of defence" and voted to raise the Maryland Line of some 1,500 men. Two committees were appointed, the first to report measures for recruiting and sustaining the troops, the second to draft regulations governing them. A fortnight later the lengthy reports of both committees were adopted.[18]

The next day, January 15, the Convention ordered three companies of minutemen into the Eastern Shore of Virginia "to the assistance of the inhabitants there." [19] In a letter to George Washington, Stone elaborated. The military contingent, he explained, was meant to help repulse "any Attack made by Dunmore, who seems determined to extend the Calamities of War to every defenseless place within his Compass." [20]

These recent steps underscored more than ever the need for an effective Council of Safety to administer Convention directives and serve as an interim government. There is no record of the appointment of a committee to propose a reorganized Council. Rather, the new charter was adopted on the afternoon of January 17 without previous consideration. Presumably the Convention debated and then voted on the Stone draft. That draft, in the neat, tight script characteristic of Stone's more formal writing, bears alterations in at least three other hands. Most of the changes revised his original phrasing but did not modify the meaning. The wording of the manuscript, as amended, is identical to that of the printed Convention proceedings.[21] In essence, the plan regularized Council procedures, retained supervisory authority over the military forces and defense preparations, and considerably circumscribed the Council's judicial functions.

The Stone draft reduced the size of the Council from sixteen to seven persons and gave the more populous Western Shore a majority of one. A quorum was set at four, a simple majority. The plan eliminated the earlier provisions for independent action by councilors from one shore and for a mandatory turnover in membership. Meetings were to be held in Annapolis or Baltimore unless there was reason to move to another location. The Convention explicitly permitted the Council to sit continuously, if circumstances required, and for the first time allocated each member a per diem allowance.

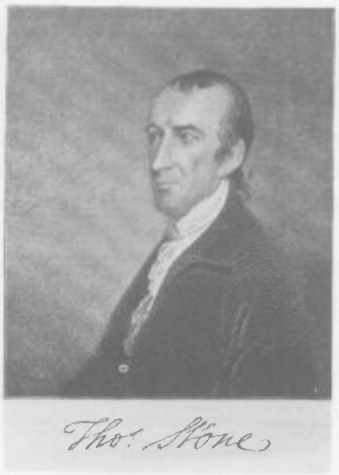
As in the charter passed five months before, the Council in January 1776 received wide latitude over the military. The breadth of jurisdiction in this regard, as well as several statements allowing the Council discretion to aid neighboring colonies, no

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 66 and 91–106. Stone was elected a member of both committees.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

[20] Stone to [Washington], Jan. 16, 1776, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, N.Y. Although the letter lacks the name of the person to whom Stone wrote, there can be no question that it was the commander-in-chief of the Continental Army. Stone's purpose in writing was to discuss a legal matter he had handled on behalf of Washington, and the brief endorsement is in Washington's handwriting. See also Land Records, Charles County, Liber V, No. 3 (1775–1782), fols. 60–61, Hall of Records.

[21] Cf. the draft in the Executive Papers, Provincial Convention, 1775–1777, box 1, with the *Proceedings of the Conventions*, pp. 116–18.



Thomas Stone. *Maryland Historical Society.*

doubt reflected the uncertain state of the Eastern Shore and the possibility of menace to the Chesapeake Bay shoreline. Supplementing the broad charter powers were Council functions designated in the recently passed recruiting instructions and the rules governing the troops.[22] One authority clearly defined in the charter, however, was the right to pardon men sentenced to death by military tribunal.[23]

The pardoning power contained in the Stone version, together with lessened judicial and disciplinary jurisdiction over civilians, represent major departures from the first Council of Safety. Whereas that body had a virtual blank check to "hear, determine and punish high and dangerous Offences," [24] the new Council was authorized "to Arrest and on Hearing confine and imprison till the next Convention all such persons within this Province as shall have been or may be guilty of high and dangerous offences. . . ." [25] Anyone detained by local committees of observation and turned over to the Council might be tried and imprisoned until the next Convention or banished from Maryland. The authority to banish was appended in a handwriting other than Stone's.[26]

Three additional paragraphs enacted in the Convention either have been lost from the Stone manuscript or were not originally part of it. They affirmed the Council's accountability to the parent body, listed the seven members elected to the reorganized Council, and established procedures for filling any vacancies that might occur.[27]

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[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 92, 94, 96–98, 103, 104, and 106.

[23] Executive Papers, Provincial Convention, 1775–1777, box 1.

[24] *Archives of Maryland*, XI, p. 23.

[25] Before amendment, Stone's version read, ". . . all such persons within this Province as may have been guilty of high and dangerous offences . . . ." Executive Papers, Provincial Convention, 1775–1777, box 1.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *Proceedings of the Conventions*, pp. 118–19.

Except for the addition of two more members, bringing the total to nine,[28] the Council of Safety remained basically unchanged thereafter. The succeeding Provincial Conventions of May, June, and August 1776 frequently issued specific instructions, but these fell within the existing framework.[29] Each Convention reaffirmed the authority delineated the previous January.[30] The Council helped guide Maryland through the difficult months of 1776 and early 1777 and then ceased to exist as power flowed from extralegal Convention to constitutional state government. For Thomas Stone, his experience in the Revolutionary body prepared him for a decade of service in the state Senate, which enacted into law an ample amount of legislation he proposed.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 161.
[29] See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 131, 140, 156, 175, 184, 292, and 295.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 188, and 348.

Mt. Vernon Place at the Turn of the Century: A Vignette of the Garrett Family

KATHARINE B. DEHLER

JOHN W. GARRETT and his family[1] were outstanding personalities in nineteenth century Baltimore financial and social life. Not only did the Garrett family contribute materially to Baltimore City but their influence extended to national life as well. During the Civil War John W. Garrett's support of the Union as president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was most important to the northern war effort. For the state the extension of the railroad to the west under Garrett's direction, together with various other business enterprises, helped materially to develop Maryland and especially Baltimore commercially.

Garrett was also interested in a variety of other activities. He was one of the founders of the Y.M.C.A. and gave substantial sums to various civic groups.[2] He was especially interested in Druid Hill Park and was a major contributor to the project.[3] In addition he gave generous financial and material support to the Peabody museum. He gave the museum a reduced copy of Ghiberti's second fate for the Baptistry in Florence and 150 plaster casts of Greek and Roman statuary which had been selected for him abroad by William Henry Rinehart.[4]

On his death John W. Garrett left in his will a bequest creating a fund of $100,000 to be invested so as to yield $6,000 annually for the relief of the poor in Baltimore. He furthermore stipulated that $50,000 annually from the net income of his estate was to

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[1] Thirty-six boxes of Garrett papers in the manuscript room of the Maryland Historical Society deal with many facets of the affairs and activities of the Garrett family of Baltimore. These papers, unsorted and uncatalogued, are in such disarray that an 1887 bill for Mrs. Garrett's Paris bonnet may be found next to an 1889 telegram concerning Baltimore and Ohio Railroad business. Additional research has been done on certain subjects which are introduced but not concluded in order to give the reader a more comprehensive picture.

There are a few miscellaneous papers of the 1860's and some of the early 1900's, but most of the material pertains to the years between 1884–1896 and centers around the following: John Work Garrett (1820–1884), dynamic president of the B&O Railroad; his daughter, Mary Elizabeth (1853–1915); his son, Robert (1847–1896), and his daughter-in-law, Mary Frick Garrett (1851–1936) who in 1902 became Mrs. Henry Barton Jacobs. She had no children by either marriage. In view of this second marriage, the name applicable at the time is used in subsequent references to her.

[2] George Howard, *The Monumental City* (Baltimore, 1889), pp. 650–653.

[3] *Park Board Reports* (1871–1884), p. 546.

[4] Frank N. Jones, *George Peabody and Peabody Institute* (1965), p. 25.

go to "such objects of benevolence, to educational purposes, to aid virtuous and struggling persons, and to such works of public utility as are calculated to promote the happiness, usefulness and progress of society. . . ." [5]

Death came to John W. Garrett in September, 1884 while he was at his summer home in Deer Park, Garrett County, Maryland.[6] His death made headlines in newspapers across the county, and it was estimated that 10,000 people attended his funeral in Greenmount Cemetery. Among the many obituaries that of the *New York Tribune* was, perhaps, most typical of the Victorian sentimentality of the time:

> He, John Work Garrett, was evidently a great financier of the modern school . . . He had a constructive mind, and constructive morals. He built up Baltimore, and built up the trust placed in his hands by the stockholders of his road when he might have quadrupled his millions by loading dice against them in Wall St. The privacy of his inner life was lifted a year ago when his wife died. She was the companion of all his hours—those given to business as well as home life. When she died his heart broke. His millions and his power in the world grew dreary to his bereaved eyes. He has gone to lay himself by her side, and the public, if it had a heart, would drop a tear to the memory of the man whose affairs, broader than his home, were wide enough to embrace a love of justice, honesty and fidelity to the rights of others.[7]

Upon the death of his father, Robert Garrett was made president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. And he too became a figure of national importance.[8] Newspapers soon followed his activities with interest. He was described as being English in appearance, with very expressive blue eyes. He was exceedingly well groomed, always carried a cane, and had a great fancy for hats. He was an accomplished dancer, enjoyed society, the theatre, books, paintings, good food, and champagne. He also had a keen sense of humor and seemed to be popular with most of those with whom he came into contact.[9]

Garrett was a member of numerous clubs in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. It may cause nostalgia among gentlemen readers today to note that in 1889 Maryland Club annual dues were only fifty dollars, while those of the Merchant's Club were thirty and those of the Elkridge "Hunting" Club were also thirty dollars plus three dollars for the Hunt Ball.[10]

Robert Garrett shared his father's interest in Baltimore. Living on Mt. Vernon Place, he was naturally active in maintaining and improving the area. He became involved in planning the ornamentation of the squares around the Washington

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[5] Will of John W. Garrett, Liber T.P. no. 7, folio 292, Baltimore County. Garrett left an estate of $5,774,509.56.

[6] The county was named for him.

[7] *New York Tribune*, Sept. 28, 1884.

[8] Howard, *Monumental City*, pp. 1124–1129. His administration witnessed the establishment of a new rail line to Philadelphia, the acquisition and improvement of the Staten Island Rapid Transit system and the formation of telegraph and express subsidiaries.

[9] *New York World* and *Baltimore Sun*, Dec. 4, 1887.

[10] Bills for club dues, Garrett papers.

View of Mt. Vernon Square. Photo by *A. Aubrey Bodine.*

Monument. He contributed the basin and fountain in the west square which is a copy of one at the Rond Point des Champs Elysées in Paris. This was surmounted in 1924 by Henri Crenier's "Boy with a Turtle," a gift of the Baltimore Municipal Art Society. He also ordered W. W. Story to duplicate the statue of George Peabody, which had been commissioned and paid for by a grateful British public, to be erected in the east square in front of the Peabody Institute.[11]

As it was with his father, Robert Garrett's involvement in aesthetics of the city was matched by his philanthrophic concern for its citizens. He gave to many worthy causes, and was a very generous supporter of numerous charitable institutions. Many "begging" letters were received by the Garretts for funds for everything from "erecting a peanut stand to building a railroad." [12] There were appeals for medicine, coal and jobs, and for money to buy furniture, houses, hardware, horses, etc. There were also pleas, written in spidery Spencerian handwriting, from a number of those in distress who hoped that the Garretts would purchase their cherished heirlooms. These requests were turned over to Mr. Crane, their private secretary, for investigation, and

[11] Mayor Robert C. Davison to Robert Garrett, April 7, 1890, *ibid.*
[12] Newspaper clippings, n.d., *ibid.*

he in turn noted on them the circumstances behind the request. The amounts to be given or lent to each worthy person were then indicated and signed M.F.G. or R.G.[13]

These and other activities were supervised from the Garrett residence at No. 11 West Mt. Vernon Place. The land on which no. 11 was built was originally owned by John Eager Howard. On his death in 1827 the plot went to his grandson, James Howard McHenry.[14] In 1843 McHenry sold the land to Edward M. Greenway[15] who in 1844 sold it to John Eager Howard, another grandson.[16] Later in 1850 it passed from this John Eager Howard to Samuel K. George[17] who evidently built the original no. 11 (72 old style) and lived there.[18]

In 1872 John Work Garrett bought the "dwelling, mirrors, paintings, and armour in the library" from the heirs of Samuel George.[19] He then gave the house to his son, Robert, possibly as a wedding present, for in that year Robert Garrett married Mary Sloan Frick, daughter of William F. Frick, a prominent Baltimore attorney whose home was at "Uplands" in Catonsville.[20] As far as can be ascertained, John Garrett never lived at no. 11. The City Directory of 1870 shows that he resided at no. 50 (old style), presently no. 12 East Mt. Vernon Place, and later at the southwest corner of Monument and Cathedral streets,[21] both the homes of his father, Robert Garrett (1783–1857), the founder of Robert Garrett & Co. and of the family fortune.[22]

No. 11 West Mt. Vernon Place was soon to become, in some respects, the most magnificent and interesting private residence in Baltimore. Since Robert and his wife both liked people, entertainment played a large role in their lives. Consequently they felt the need of a larger and more suitable house which ultimately led to the enlargement of no. 11 by buying no. 9 next door and combining the two houses.

However, the rebuilding got off to a bad start. One of the first projects contemplated was to build a large vestibule on the front of no. 11. But unfortunately, all the houses on the south side of the west square, except nos. 3 and 11, were of the Greek revival style and the plan that the Garretts had adopted was to turn their double house into a New York "brownstone." This created a great hue and cry, not only from residents of the square, but from others as well who aired their criticisms in the city's newspapers. The use of the double entendre was expended freely on the portly Robert Garrett and his "bay window."

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[13] In testimonial to this, Robert Garrett's good friend, W. A. Fisher, wrote to him on October 14, 1887: "You have done so many generous things in private as well as in public that you have won, and retain undimished, not only the regards, but the affection of the people of this city in which I am proud to share."

[14] Deed shows that lot was assigned by a commission appointed by an act of the General Assembly, Dec., 1830.

[15] Liber T.K., no. 328, folio 243, Baltimore County.

[16] Liber T.K., no. 340, folio 505, *ibid.*

[17] Liber A.W.B., no. 433, folio 93, *ibid.*

[18] House numbers in Mt. Vernon Place were changed in 1887.

[19] John W. Garrett to George Guest, Sept. 23, 1872, Garrett papers.

[20] Edmondson Village was to be built on part of this estate in later years.

[21] Owners Listing, Form No. Chap. 14A. Baltimore Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation. This listing shows that the first occupant of 101 W. Monument St. was George W. Williamson in 1846.

[22] Later it was renamed Robert Garrett & Sons.

The Robert Garrett-Jacobs House. Currently the Engineering Center. Photo by *A. Aubrey Bodine.*

Unquestionably, Baltimoreans, contending that the proposed style was too modern, did not want Mt. Vernon Place changed. It was charged that a New York "brownstone" had no place in conservative Mt. Vernon Square. Even comparison of the house with the Astor mansion and others in New York did not lessen the criticism. Finally the situation reached a climax when Henry Janes, a nephew of Mrs. Enoch Pratt, who lived next door at no. 13, became so annoyed that he filed suit against the Garretts and claimed that the "monstrous portico" exceeded the legal footage allowed and cut off his sunlight, air and first floor view of the Washington Monument. In the initial contest Janes won the suit, but the Garretts, after obtaining the services of E. J. D. Cross, one of the outstanding lawyers of his time, secured a reversal and dismissal of the case on appeal.[23]

Immediately after the verdict was rendered, work on the house including the portico was resumed. The renovation was under the direction of Stanford White, who had been engaged as the architect. He was a member of the firm of McKim, Mead and White of which it was said that McKim was the conservative. Mead had the money, and White the genius.[24] White also had an arresting personality and a remarkable

[23] *Robert Garrett v Henry Janes.* Appeal from Circuit Court of Baltimore City. Decree reversed and bill dismissed, April 9, 1886.

[24] Louise H. Thorpe, *St. Gaudens and the Guilded Age* (1969), p. 34.

ability for handling people. These characteristics helped to offset his generally untidy and too casual appearance, which was aggravated by bushy eyebrows, a walrus moustache and a tangle of unruly red hair. His ability, however, was to set his stamp on much of America's architecture of the late 1890's and early 1900's.[25]

Mrs. Garrett, on the other hand, was a perfectionist, and this new home, which she wanted to be one of elegance, was very dear to her heart. Into it she put endless thought, a great deal of close supervision, and large sums of money. She had frequent disappointments, however, when executed plans did not achieve anticipated results. The correspondence between these two individuals of such completely different temperaments was, as may be imagined, quite spirited, and it was to Stanford White's credit that he handled the delicate situations which arose as adroitly as he did. It was also to Mrs. Garrett's credit that she respected his ability, and sometimes allowed herself to be influenced by him.

Several large folders of work sheets from the Bartlett Hayward Co., detailed down to an item of three nails, bear witness that structurally the house, as erected by them, was a veritable fortress. Complaints by the owners, however, that the heating system did not work properly brought forth a rather tart rejoinder from Bartlett Hayward that the Garretts did not stay home long enough at one time for the system to be tested properly.

Gradually, the building got under way, but trouble followed trouble: pipes burst, fountains leaked, chimneys smoked, and orchids froze in the conservatory. The employment of a New York architect and contractors caused many difficulties and much confusion. A maze of plans was submitted three times, but Mrs. Garrett could not make up her mind. When eventually she did, she took the woman's prerogative of changing it, and then apparently saw no reason why she should be expected to pay the additional expense. She would often give instructions to the workmen which countermanded those of Stanford White. Under these circumstances it was difficult to keep records, and masses of correspondence resulted in trying to fathom who had told whom to do what. Sometimes, when the situation got out of hand and Mrs. Garrett sent for White to come to Baltimore to straighten it out, a brief note from McKim, Mead and White would say, "Mr. White has gone fishing." On one occasion White wrote to Mrs. Garrett:

> Mr. W. H. Hoffman,[26] after his last visit nearly turned my hair gray by bringing me fourteen foolscap pages of points to be decided upon, and changes to be made. . . .[27]

Eventually, with Mrs. Garrett pressing Stanford White and White in turn driving the contractors, the first phase of the expansion was finished in 1889.

To complete the house as we know it today, no. 7 was acquired in 1902, shortly after Mrs. Garrett married Dr. Henry Jacobs, to provide the supper room, library and ball

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[25] He was to meet his death in 1906 at the hands of Harry K. Thaw. The second and third phases of reconstruction of no. 11 were completed by John Russell Pope.

[26] Superintendent for McKim, Mead & White.

[27] Stanford White to Mrs. Garrett, March 30, 1885, Garrett papers.

room. Later, in 1913, the stables were razed and the art gallery was built on this site. The space left in the center became an enlarged glass-domed conservatory with access from each of the surrounding rooms. The walls of this courtyard were, according to a visitor, covered with four inches of moss which was brought fresh every year from the south. Tall palm trees stood in the center and around the galleries, softened by ferns and a mossy grotto with a trickling stream, which flowed into a pool inhabited by frogs. Clumps of orchids hung in baskets from the gallery stairs and other rare fresh potted flowers were brought twice weekly from Uplands. The huge pots and vases about the conservatory were of all colors, some majolica, others oriental. At one time doves flew about in this green paradise. The contents of this conservatory were insured for $10,000.[28] The transformation of the houses which took thirty-two years to complete, resulted in the creation of one of the largest and most elegant town houses in the South, a single residence of more than forty rooms.

In the meantime, Mr. Janes, who had not been on speaking terms with his neighbors at no. 11 since losing the law suit, had sold no. 13. Mrs. Jacobs then acquired that house in 1915 and tore out the rear of the building so that today no. 13 is only one room deep.[29] This made it possible to build much needed closets along the west side of no. 11 to admit light through the Tiffany windows on the spiral staircase and to create a beautiful garden.[30]

Another prominent figure became involved in the renovation when Louis Comfort Tiffany was approached by Stanford White to provide windows for the front hall stairway and dome. "L.C.T.", as he was called, was world famous for his stained glass windows and interior decorating and a leader of the Art Noveau movement which swept Europe and America at the turn of the century. He was, however, a poor businessman who paid little attention to the cost of an order, the artistic effect being of primary importance.[31] Consequently when Mrs. Garrett complained about certain aspects of the windows, "L.C.T." patiently, and at his own expense, made the required corrections. There were innumerable changes from the original plans and, amazing as it may seem, the large window on the second floor front, entitled "The Standard Bearers" which measures approximately eight by ten feet, had to be shipped back and forth to New York many times. Although it was impossible to insure against breakage, the correspondence gives no hint of accident, so all must have gone well.[32]

Another interesting and controversial addition was a "cat teaser" which was built on top of the stonewall across the front of the house.[33] This produced much

[28] Bill from Allmand & Gallagher, Insurance Agents, April 27, 1896, Garrett papers.

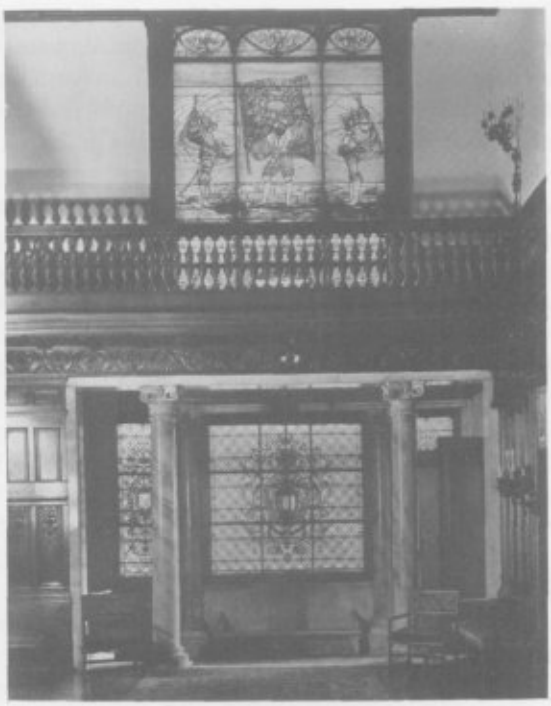
[29] The Engineering Society, present owner of no. 11, sold no. 13 to Estelle Dennis in 1966.

[30] Interest in this mansion has grown in the last decade due to the efforts of the Engineering Society of Baltimore to rehabilitate it and thereby help to preserve Mt. Vernon Place. The success of the Society has been acknowledged by several awards, one of which was given by Baltimore Heritage in 1971.

[31] Joseph Purtell, *The Tiffany Touch* (New York, 1971), p. 114.

[32] The lower window in the Great Hall was removed during Boumi Temple ownership and it has been impossible to find any trace of the glass. "The Standard Bearers" had so deteriorated that when the Engineering Society bought the property, the Women's Auxillary of the Society had it restored as it was in 1885.

[33] Iron spikes or curlicues placed on top of a wall to prevent cats from walking or leaping. Michael F. Trosted discovered the meaning of this archaic term.



Entrance Hall of Garrett-Jacobs House. Photo by *A. Aubrey Bodine.*

correspondence as Stanford White had it painted black, then white, then black again before Mrs. Garrett was satisfied.[34]

The decoration and furnishing of the expanding house posed problems which might have daunted a woman less dedicated than Mrs. Garrett. While some of the furnishings were acquired in New York, many pieces of silver, glassware, linens, brocade, furniture, and other valuable objects d'art were purchased during her frequent trips to Europe.

Art also became an essential feature in the aggrandizement of the house. As enthusiastic collectors, the Garretts spent much time and money on the creation of an art gallery. Numerous bills and much correspondence in the Garrett papers indicate their zest for this venture. Unfortunately Robert Garrett became ill in 1887 and died in 1896. Thus he was never able to see the completed house with its embellishments.

During the interval following Robert Garrett's death, and after her marriage to Dr. Henry Barton Jacobs, Mrs. Garrett continued to acquire paintings and other objects d'art through the services of London and New York dealers and in particular those of René Gimpel, a Paris dealer, brother-in-law of Sir Joseph Duveen. Gimpel mentions

[34] Bill from G. Krug and Son, Workers in Iron, 1886, Garrett papers.

in his diary some of the transactions and problems inherent in assembling the Garrett collection:

> Recently Mrs. Barton Jacobs of Baltimore called me in and said: "I'm going to give my collection, my money, and my house to the city of Baltimore. I'm getting on in years. Will you agree to be its official counselor by provision of my will?" "Yes," I told her, "provided you give me full powers and specify that everything bought be of similar quality and taste to the things in the Wallace Collection." Mrs. Barton Jacobs had been collecting for years when the dealer from whom she bought committed suicide in 1908. Whereupon she called me and learned that in the French School she had nothing but fakes—filling two enormous galleries. She was paralyzed by this for several years and began buying again only in 1914, on July 28. The war broke out several days later and she wired me from Cherbourg that she was giving up the lot she had chosen in my galleries. A great admirer of France, she spent her money during the war exclusively in relieving our sufferings. She began thinking of her gallery again only in 1919. And since then we have been replacing the poor canvases with very fine pictures. She has since acquired an admirable Gruze, a La Tour, a Chardin, two Hubert Roberts, a Nattier, etc. It will one day be America's Wallace Collection.[35]

Mrs. Jacobs ultimately gave her collection to the Baltimore Museum of Art before her death with the stipulation that the city build a wing to house it. This annex is known as the Mary Frick Jacobs Wing. It is, however, unfortunate that the name of Garrett was not mentioned also. True, Mrs. Jacobs selected the paintings and objects d'art, and may even have paid for some of them from her own fortune, but many replacements of the original collection were purchased with Garrett money, so the inclusion of that name might have been fitting.[36]

Since the house at no. 11 had been built largely for entertaining, some of Baltimore's most elaborate social functions were soon being held there. For instance, February of 1892 must have been a month of extended hospitality, as bills show that $348.50 worth of terrapin, at $45.00 a dozen, was bought from the Maryland Club, and that the New York Philharmonic Club performed there on February 1. Apparently few balls were given, but there were many elaborate dinners followed by music and other forms of entertainment. Both Mr. and Mrs. Garrett were musical, and some of the great artists, both in this country and from abroad, performed at no. 11 as well as promising young virtuosos who were introduced to Baltimore society under their patronage.

Mrs. Garrett was always a social leader in Baltimore, but as the house increased in size and grandeur, so did her entertaining. Guests reported that soirées were of the most elegant and formal nature and that their hostess soon became the arbiter of

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[35] René Gimpel, *Diary of an Art Dealer* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1963), p. 319.

[36] "Unfortunately her shares on the stock market collapsed in 1929 and she did no more buying. As she no longer had the money to make a museum of her house, she bequeathed the incomplete and not entirely purged collection to the museum."

There is also correspondence between René Gimpel and Mrs. Jacobs in the library of the Baltimore Museum of Art, but it has not been examined by the author.

society in the city. The Garrett papers deal somewhat briefly with the Jacobs' period, but J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul once remarked that attending a party at no. 11 was spoken of as "going to Court" and that Mrs. Jacobs was designated by some as the "Mrs. Astor of Baltimore." He also recounted that when Dr. and Mrs. Jacobs arrived at social functions, the other guests stood aside and allowed them to make what was virtually a royal entrance.[37] Francis Beirne in his *Amiable Baltimoreans* refers to Mrs. Jacobs' palace on Mt. Vernon Place where "Persons invited to Mrs. Jacobs' house, or who were honored by her presence in their houses, needed no other evidence that they belonged...."[38] Entertainment was often provided by the guests themselves, and charades were a popular form of divertissement. On one occasion the guests copied the costumes and poses of the paintings in the art gallery, and prizes were awarded for the best facsimiles.

Entertaining on such an elaborate scale presented many problems, not the least of which was that of engaging staff. Most of the servants were obtained in New York, either by newspaper advertising or through agencies, which entailed much interviewing and checking of references. In hiring a coachman, butler or footman, his ability, weight, height, and honesty were important, but sobriety was paramount. In fact, so meticulous were the Garretts in this respect that a former employee of Mrs. J. Pierpont Morgan failed to qualify, despite her letter of recommendation, which read: "I can give him a good character. He did drink beer, but was never the worse for it."[39] Judging from the numbers of letters from applicants, and considering that Mrs. Garrett interviewed personally the more important of the twenty or more servants needed to staff no. 11 alone, this must have been a wearisome and time consuming task. Certainly, the chef, di Muccia, was a problem. A culinary artist, famous both in Baltimore and Newport for his expertise, he was the envy of many a hostess, including Mrs. John Jacob Astor IV. Gilman Paul remembered that on one occasion when calling with Dr. Hall Pleasants on the Jacobs at Uplands they found Dr. Jacobs alone and looking very forlorn. Apparently Mrs. Jacobs, the Fricks, and the servants had gone off to Newport leaving him to follow with di Muccia's "great battery of precious pots and pans," so that there would be no mistake as to their safe delivery. Later, however, di Muccia grew even more temperamental and refused to go to Newport at all. Mrs. Astor had tried to lure him away, and he consented to remain with Mrs. Jacobs only on condition that he would be allowed to stay in Baltimore. He did agree to prepare certain epicurean delights, on occasion, which were shipped to Newport by refrigerated railroad express to be served the next evening.

The Garrett papers indicate that the family moved about constantly. However, they usually stayed at no. 11 from November 1st when the social season began until Easter. In the meantime an upholsterer, employed by the year, would prepare Uplands by removing drop cloths and performing other duties to ready that residence for their stay there from Easter until June. He would then close that house and precede the

[37] Conversations with J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul, Feb., 1970.
[38] Francis F. Beirne, *The Amiable Baltimoreans* (Hatboro, Pa., 1968), p. 294.
[39] Frances Morgan to Mary Garrett, n.d., Garrett papers.

Supper Room with Music Balcony. Garrett-Jacobs House. Photo by *A. Aubrey Bodine.*

Garretts to Newport, where they would stay for the season, or a part of it. Often he would return to no. 11 to receive and unpack the innumerable cartons of purchases made during one of their frequent trips to Europe.

Preparations for summer visits to Bar Harbor in the early days and later to Newport could be quite complicated. A staggering amount of equipment was always sent ahead, and in 1889 on a trip to Bar Harbor their B&O railroad car proved to to be too large for the tunnel and had to be abandoned at Jersey City. This involved a sizable volume of letters and telegrams, but fortunately Robert Garrett had the equivalent of franking privileges for telegrams as well as passes on railroads both here and abroad, and in addition he was given special consideration for freight and express shipments. One example of the magnitude of this annual excursion appears in a letter from A. B. Crane to the General Agent of the B&O on June 28:

> Mrs. Garrett will have 8 horses to ship, also 2 Victorias, 1 coup and buggy, also a dog cart and vis-á-vis. Horses will be transferred on arrival at Jersey City to Fall River boat. There will be about 100 packages consisting of trunks and boxes and 4 wagons.[40]

[40] The transportation of vehicles and horses, etc., was routine among wealthy Baltimoreans who summered elsewhere. The main problem was to get the equipages to their destination before the families arrived. The families, therefore, were usually forced to stop for a day or two en route.

On one occasion after spending part of the summer at Newport, Mrs. Garrett and the Fricks decided to visit the Chicago World's Fair. Arrangements for this trip for a party of eight took some forty letters and sixteen telegrams. The first plan was to rent a house, but it proved impossible to find one large enough. Finally, A. B. Crane telegraphed that he would secure rooms at the "Windemere." "Bond says this hotel is strictly first class. Cornelius Vanderbilt and party and Andrew Carnegie and party are staying there." This apparently did not suit Mrs. Garrett, as she replied that she wanted to go to the "Chicago Beach Hotel." "Don't mention any names until you hear the charges. Two single, three double rooms and three baths and a sitting room and three servants' rooms—my rooms to have fireplaces and to face the lake, with half the other rooms on the sunny side and half on the shady side." But an even more difficult task facing Crane was the arrangement for transportation for this group. The "Marylander," the Garrett's private railroad car, was stocked with fresh supplies from the country, with vegetables, butter and eggs from Uplands. The pies were to be bought in Boston.

Later, on a trip to Paris, Dr. Jacobs wrote to Mr. Crane on May 4, 1907:

> Mrs. Jacobs much better than when we left as the complete freedom from household cares has been a great relief to her. There are a large number of Americans here from New York and we see our Newport acquaintances at almost every turn. Bisson, our chauffer, is having his troubles with the police, a new rule, lately made, is that no automobile shall smoke. He has been warned twice, and he now sees the possibility of spending a day in jail as this is the punishment for smoking!

Might we infer that Paris had an anti-air pollution law as early as 1907 which was enforced?

Yet despite the social whirl in which they lived the Garretts also demonstrated the noblesse oblige of their class. The family concern for humanitarian activities can be traced back to Robert Garrett, the founder of the family's fortune, and particularly to his wife, Elizabeth Stouffer, who was greatly interested in the benevolent institutions of Baltimore and was among those ladies who in 1824 established the Society for the Relief of the Indigent Sick which succored over 20,000 of the sick and poor, regardless of creed or color.[41] The example set by his mother probably influenced John Work Garrett in his establishment of the Garrett Fund which was administered by his sister, Elizabeth, and later by his daughter, Mary Elizabeth.

In this connection Mary, Robert Garrett's sister, deserves special mention. She was recognized internationally for her philanthropy and was a benefactress to many causes, particularly that of education. Among her numerous interests was Bryn Mawr School in Baltimore which she helped to establish, her strong support of Bryn Mawr College, and her very important role in helping to found the Johns Hopkins medical school. Dr. Alan Chesney of the Medical School once said of her: "To this lady, more than to any other single person, save only Johns Hopkins himself, does the School of

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[41] Howard, *Monumental City*, p. 928.

Mantel in Drawing Room. Bust and reflected Tapestry owned by Douglas H. Gordon. Garrett-Jacobs House. Photo by *A. Aubrey Bodine*.

Medicine owe its being."[42] She also commissioned John Singer Sargent to paint the famous "Four Doctors" presently in the Welch Medical Library.[43]

Mary Frick Garrett Jacobs merits further comment for the part she played on the Baltimore scene. She was in many ways a remarkable woman, extremely intelligent with unusual qualities of leadership. She was an indefatigable worker and closely supervised her business affairs together with an incredible number of other matters. She was also a society matron to her finger-tips and enjoyed her position as social arbiter of Baltimore. She could, on occasion, be both dictatorial and arbitrary and was very selective in choosing her friends and acquaintances; but at the same time she could demonstrate a deep compassion for those in need, particularly children.

Her love for children was a motivating factor in her life, and probably her great tragedy was that she had none of her own upon which to lavish her time and affection. Her supervision of the children's hospitals which she founded and maintained was constant, and her concern that these institutions should be as adequate and effective as possible was revealed in her correspondence with the doctors and nurses in

[42] Alan M. Chesney, *The Johns Hopkins Hospital and the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine* (Baltimore, 1943), I, p. 204.

[43] *Ibid.*, III, pp. 35–36.

attendance.[44] As a final tribute, she left the bulk of her estate to establish "The Robert Garrett Fund for the Surgical Treatment of Children" and in doing so aided in the formation of the Children's Medical and Surgical Center at The Johns Hopkins Hospital which was completed in 1964.[45]

Her compassion for the unfortunate was further expressed in the bequest of Uplands together with a large sum of money for a home for "needy and lonely church women." In addition Grace and St. Peter's Church, The Church Home and Infirmary, and other institutions were remembered in her will along with generous bequests to certain members of her staff. If she seemed to lavish much on her homes and on entertaining, she displayed extraordinary generosity and Baltimore is much the richer for it.

In conclusion it is apparent that the life-style of the Garretts, while typical of wealthy, socially prominent families in the larger cities of this country at the turn of the century, was on a grander scale than that of any other Baltimore family. On the other hand, it is a matter of record that the Garretts were among the major contributors to the development of banking and commerce in Baltimore as well as to its cultural and educational growth.

One also leaves this study with a feeling of nostalgia for some of the cherished traditions and pride of performance of yesteryear, and for some of the graces which might be useful today in smoothing the rough edges of our more democratic but less socially oriented way of life.

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[44] Mrs. Jacobs was a pioneer in the founding of hospitals for children. In 1928 she had erected at Eudowood, a hospital for the care and cure of tubercular children in honor of Dr. Henry Jacobs, who served for many years as president of the board of trustees. Dr. Jacobs was interested in numerous civic problems, especially the prevention of tuberculosis.

[45] Will of Mary Frick Jacobs, JHB, 187, folio 170, Baltimore.

SIDELIGHTS

The Lost World of Daniel Boorstin

RODNEY M. SIEVERS

THE PULITZER PRIZEWINNING *Democratic Experience* is the final volume of Daniel J. Boorstin's series *The Americans*, which began with *The Colonial Experience* (1958) and continued in *The National Experience* (1965).[1] Like its predecessors it is a free-wheeling, highly selective survey of American ways of doing things. Unlike the previous books, however, it questions the implications of certain national tendencies for the well-being of the American people. Previously Boorstin has maintained that there has been more of the positive than of the negative in Americans' pragmatic approach to life. But *The Democratic Experience*, which concentrates on the last one hundred years, ends on an ambiguous note that is more pessimistic than optimistic. It thus contrasts markedly, less in substance than in spirit, with the earlier volumes and raises new questions concerning both the nation's history and Boorstin's view of that history.

The structure of the book resembles that of its predecessors in the trilogy. Topical categories divide the work into four parts, entitled "Everywhere Communities," "The Decline of the Miraculous," "A Popular Culture" and "The Future on Schedule." These sections are subdivided into a total of ten units and sixty-one chapters, each of which is virtually self-contained. But what otherwise would be a mélange of disjointed episodes is rescued by the use of several broad themes; these conceptual guidelines give enlarged meaning to the whole work but will not surprise readers of the preceding volumes in the series.

First, the idea of community is repeated, embracing the American talent for organization and association. After the Civil War, Boorstin argues, Americans were "held together less by their hopes than by their wants, by what they made and what they bought, and by how they learned about everything." Boorstin is hardly the first scholar to stress the consumer revolution, but he is the first to suggest that Model-T owners, or subscribers to the Sears catalogue, or purchasers of 34-30 sized trousers, composed communities of sorts, thereby gaining a measure of group identity while traditional communities were breaking down. He concedes that these communities "were held together by much thinner, more temporary ties than those that had bound earlier Americans." Nevertheless, "they drew together in novel ways people who

[1] *The Americans: The Democratic Experience*. By Daniel J. Boorstin. (New York: Random House, 1973. Pp. ix, 717. $10.00.)

might not otherwise have been drawn together at all"; they became "a characteristic American mode of acculturation." In a country still composed of vast open spaces with a high potential for loneliness, these consumption communites played a positive role.

Another idea carried over from the preceding volumes is that much that was peculiarly American stemmed from the ambiguity and vagueness of the country itself. Discussing "lawless sheriffs and honest desperadoes," Boorstin contends that such men's "inner uncertainties reflected the uncertain possibilities of the American landscape. . . ." Of John D. Rockefeller Boorstin observes: "He built his fortune in the Western vagueness. . . . His method [reflected] a moral-legal ambiguity that flourished beyond precedent in America."

A third familiar theme involves the "booster" or "go-getter," a category including people as diverse as oil-drilling pioneer Edwin L. Drake, gangster Al Capone, master inventor Thomas Edison, and one Harry Winokur of Revere, Massachusetts, better known as "Mister donut" in the world of chain food shops. Each man, through ingenuity and hard work, made the most out of the resources available to him and in this sense qualifies as a true-blue American, in Boorstin's view. He quotes Al Capone's remark that "I make my money by supplying a public demand . . . . Everybody calls me a racketeer. I call myself a business man." But Boorstin carefully distinguishes between "boosters" and latter-day "boomers" or "developers." The former was "a community builder, loyal for the time at least to his place"; but while some of the latter were true boosters "more of them were mere speculators."

Equally as interesting as the topics Boorstin discusses are those which he ignores. In a book dealing with American life since the Civil War there are only fleeting references to the reform movements, the world wars, the Great Depression, the Cold War, the war in Vietnam. The whole question of race relations is muted throughout the book: Negroes receive only one chapter ("The Urban Blues") which contributes no new insights to the subject. Nor is there much originality in the discussion of the ways in which the various immigrant groups of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries adjusted to their new situations. Perhaps Boorstin simply feels that enough has been said (or will be said) about these matters elsewhere. But one senses that he deems them secondary to his principal purpose in the book. What is that purpose?

Surely it is nothing less than an effort to depict the transformation of American experience. Explicitly and implicitly Boorstin pursues the question: What forces have caused Americans to change the way in which they have perceived reality? Perhaps the most revealing sentence in *The Democratic Experience* occurs during a short discussion of John Dewey, of whom Boorstin notes: "He foresaw the mystery of America being transferred from the continent out there inwardly into the experience of Americans." In Boorstin's judgment, this vastly complicated process of the internalizing of experience is more fundamental than world wars, depressions, or racial clashes. It almost defies description, but Boorstin apparently believes that technology has been the most important factor in altering people's perceptions, for no other topic receives more attention than technology in *The Democratic Experience*.

The sewing machine, the typewriter, the camera, frozen foods, the phonograph, the refrigerator, indoor plumbing, sheet glass, the cash register—these are only a few of the inventions and innovations chronicled by Boorstin. He is absorbed with technology not for its own sake but because of its central role in democratizing, or at least leveling, American experience. He assumes that it has had more impact on men's lives than political events. Thus, the telephone presumably is a more significant influence than the New Freedom and indoor plumbing affects more people more fundamentally than the New Deal. Perhaps "Mister donut" will be a more lasting influence than Richard Nixon!

All this can be debated forever, but the pressing point remains: Boorstin's effort to identify the basic elements in the fluid "American experience" demands close attention. There are vital implications here for students of ideas in America, notwithstanding his deceptively nonintellectual approach to intellectual history. *The Democratic Experience* is most accurately seen as the culmination of a subtle investigation of American thought begun by Boorstin over a quarter century ago in *The Lost World of Thomas Jefferson* (1948).

In that book Boorstin argued that the optimism of the Jeffersonians arose largely out of wishful thinking about the unknown continent. This characteristic of Jeffersonian thought merely reflected a perennial feature of American history.

Daniel J. Boorstin. Courtesy of *Smithsonain Institution.*

Ignorance, according to Boorstin, has always been something of a blessing in disguise for Americans. Ignorance of what lay across the Atlantic meant that the colonists would have to adapt Old World ways to New World facts. Ignorance of what lay beyond the successive westernmost fringes of settlement accorded well with the development of the booster spirit. "It was hard to be confined by knowledge still ungathered," Boorstin pointed out in *The National Experience*. "On a half-known continent, it was difficult to disprove even the most extravagant visions. . . . Ignorance itself was an unacknowledged source of imagination and energy."

But ignorance has its drawbacks. The hopeful, futuristic orientation of the Jeffersonians minimized the potential for self-scrutiny and self-comprehension in their thought. Consequently, Jefferson's philosophy can stake no claim to universality; it was "suited not for eternity but for man's potentialities at a particular stage in history and at a particular place on earth." (*Lost World of Thomas Jefferson*, p. 241)

By the beginning of the twentieth century Jeffersonian naturalism had reached its fulfillment in Social Darwinism, but in the transition from one kind of naturalistic thinking to another something vital was irretrievably lost:

> Jeffersonian naturalism was the stage of promise and prophecy; later naturalism, that of fulfillment and retrospect. This difference was by no means negligible. For to say that what made men prosperous was also what made them virtuous produced in Jeffersonian America a canon of virtues impressively different from those produced by applying the same test to the America of Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller and Henry Adams.
>
> (*Lost World*, p. 243)

In one sense, at least, it can be argued that everything Boorstin has written since the Jefferson book has been an elaboration on the change from Jeffersonian to Social Darwinian naturalism to the post-naturalistic stage of social evolution in which we live today. The strong environmental emphasis in his writing has quite properly prompted some scholars to compare Boorstin's work with that of the most famous environmental historian—Frederick Jackson Turner. *The Democratic Experience* raises further points of similarity between the two.

It is easy to forget that in his famous paper of 1893 Turner stressed not only the uniqueness of the nation's past but also implied the decline of uniqueness in its future. In the 1890s, of course, Turner had no way of knowing how American society would develop; he was sure only that it would be very different from the frontier-dominated society that was vanishing. Writing almost a century later, Boorstin can fill in the details; *The Democratic Experience* indicates that he is sobered by the emerging picture. As early as 1948, however, he described the essential feature of the new America:

> In a continent largely unexplored . . . the main features of the landscape were still obviously the work of the Creator . . . . But a century after Jefferson, men drew their power from mobile and artificial sources. . . . The urban Leviathan . . . seemed to suggest that man

somehow could actually build his own social universe . . . . The polarity of man and nature was disappearing.

(*Lost World*, p. 247)

Of course the miracles bred by technology "added immeasurably to life," Boorstin emphasizes in *The Democratic Experience*. But "they also subtracted something that could never be measured." He suggests that the best word to describe the new life style is "attenuation": "Attenuated experience was thinner, more diluted, its sensations were weaker and less poignant."

Boorstin skeptically analyzed modern culture in *The Image* (1962). It contends that as Americans have grown more skillful at conjuring up images and disseminating them through radio, newspapers and television, they have begun to fabricate experience itself. Contrived occurrences, termed "pseudo-events" by Boorstin, now rival real ones for attention; indeed it is becoming harder to tell what *is* "real." Among other examples he cites politicians' press conferences, the so-called Great Debates between Nixon and Kennedy in the campaign of 1960, "best seller" lists, television quiz shows, and the cult of "personalities." Moreover, pseudo-events "spawn other pseudo-events in geometric progression." A striking recent instance is found in the Clifford Irving hoax. When Irving was found guilty of falsifying a biography of Howard Hughes (himself something of a "human pseudo-event") he promptly announced plans to write another book about the planning of the hoax itself! And now that that book has been published, Irving is appearing on television talk shows promoting it.

In short the American Dream, which to Boorstin once represented attainable goals through the singular nature of life on an open, challenging continent, has degenerated into the American Illusion—the shabby hope that we can find happiness by fabricating experience. The American story is one of growing self-deception and lost opportunity: all that remains is a frantic preoccupation with "news" to relieve our sterile existence.

Writing in a popular magazine in 1970, Boorstin argued that many of the nation's problems are products of this feverish quest for the "relevant" and *au courant*.

In a word, we have lost our sense of history . . . book publishers and literary reviewers no longer seek the tireless and the durable, but spend most of their efforts in fruitless search for *à la mode* 'social commentary'—which they pray won't be out of date when the issue goes to press . . . . Without the materials of historical comparison . . . we are left with nothing but abstractions, nothing but baseless utopias to compare ourselves with.

(*Newsweek*, July 6, 1970, p. 28)

And as any reader of *The Americans* series knows, the over-riding historical strength of this country has been its resistance to "abstractions" and "baseless utopias" as models for thought or action.

The final chapter of *The Democratic Experience* focuses, fittingly, on the most spectacular achievements of American technology and enterprise—the atomic bomb

and the moon-landing project. The irony is that even as Americans discovered the wonders of the microcosm and the macrocosm, even as they explored previously unimagined frontiers, they had little sense of themselves, of whom they were and of where they were headed; they were still just "on the way." Boorstin quotes Gertrude Stein: "When you get there, there isn't any there there." What can he do but conclude his epic account of America without a conclusion?

> Fewer decisions of social policy seemed to be Whether-Or-Not as more became decisions of How-Fast-and-When . . . . For the atomic bomb along with the space adventure and a thousand lesser daily demonstrations . . . were showing that the 'advance' of science and technology, whether guided or vagrant, would control the daily lives of Americans.
>
> (*The Democratic Experience*, p. 598)

Technological determinism has superseded natural determinism. Boorstin, who has generally applauded the effects of the old forces on Americans, is uncertain about the consequences of the new ones. In a sense it is 1893 again and Boorstin, like Turner, peers into a clouded future wherein traditional norms quickly become obsolete.

Turner did not speculate in detail about the shape of things to come, but his contemporary Henry Adams was obsessed with the effort to do so. Adams sought a scientific basis for his trenchant pessimism in the laws of physics and the dissipation of energy. Similarly, in the later chapters of *The Democratic Experience* Boorstin speculates on the role of "momentum" in modern life:

> The sense of mission [in contemporary America] . . . was being overwhelmed by an involuntary sense: a sense of momentum. In physics, *momentum* meant the product of a body's *mass* and its *linear velocity* . . . . And these, of course, were precisely the dimensions which had distinguished American history. The American boast, and the butt of Old World ridicule, was how big everything was here and how fast everything moved.

The twentieth century added a new ominous dimension to these old national proclivities. Adams described it as "the movement from unity into multiplicity" and warned that the rate of acceleration was so great as to require "a new social mind" to cope with its implications. Boorstin, while stubbornly resisting Adams' darkest visions, essentially concurs with his analysis of the modern dilemma: "As American civilization became increasingly permeated by its technology, it lay increasingly at the mercy of the internal logic of advancing knowledge . . . . And of all things on earth, the growth of knowledge remained still the most spontaneous and unpredictable." (*The Democratic Experience*, pp. 597–598)

Of course one might argue that American civilization has reached its present confused state at least partly because of the very characteristics Boorstin has praised in its past: adaptiveness, flexibility, the absence of a guiding philosophy. Qualities that may once have been redeeming features have contributed to the loss of the "sense of history" Boorstin deplored in his *Newsweek* article, but nowhere in *The Democratic Experience* does he confront this possibility.

He chooses instead to suggest that what has rescued America before may come to

its aid again. *The Democratic Experience* contains an epilogue entitled "Unknown Coasts." It is an excerpt from William Bradford's account of the Pilgrims' debates over the projected migration to the New World. Bradford's warning that there would be tribulations as well as rewards ahead, his awareness that the enterprise carried no guarantee of success, is appropriate to this ambiguous book, alternately hopeful and fearful in its mood, proud and sober in its judgments. It is the work of a master historian, however, and those who will be disappointed by Boorstin's refusal to come to any firm conclusion should recall his warning in *The Image:* "One of our grand illusions is the belief in a 'cure.' There is no cure. There is only the opportunity for discovery. For this the New World gave us a grand, unique beginning."

A Selected Bibliography of Articles on Maryland History in Other Journals

DOROTHY M. BROWN AND RICHARD R. DUNCAN

THE LARGEST REPOSITORY of articles on Maryland history can be found in the volumes of this *Magazine*, but there is also a sizeable body of articles relating directly and indirectly to the Old Line State in other journals. In the mid-1950's there was an attempt to survey annually current publications on Maryland in the *Magazine*, but this effort persisted for only three years. The *American Historical Review* does compile a highly selective annual bibliography of articles of topical and sectional interest. Beginning in 1964, *The Journal of Southern History* organized an annual bibliography but this excluded articles of primarily local interest. Consequently, there is a serious need for an updated and wide-ranging bibliography of journal articles on Maryland for both the scholar and general reader.

In a partial response to this need approximately thirty journals were culled. These included: *Agricultural History*, *American Heritage*, *American Historical Review*, *American Jewish Archives*, *American Journal of Legal History*, *American Neptune*, *American Political Science Review*, *Business History Review*, *Catholic Historical Review*, *Civil War History*, *Columbia Journalism Review*, *Delaware History*, *Georgia Historical Review*, *The Historian*, *History Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, *Journal of Negro History*, *Journalism Quarterly*, *Labor History*, *Military Affairs*, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review/ Journal of American History*, *Pennsylvania Magazine*, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society/ American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, *Records of Southern Historical Society*, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, *West Virginia History*, and *the William & Mary Quarterly*.

What has emerged is a striking parallel to the bibliography of theses and dissertations on Maryland history in this *Magazine* (1968–1969). Scholars have concentrated their research in the colonial and early national period of the state. The late nineteenth and twentieth centuries again are rich but largely neglected fields of study of the Old Line State.

The user should be cautioned that this compilation should not be regarded as

definitive. In some cases missing volumes prevented a full survey, while in the case of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* the earlier volumes, containing small items and extracts, were not used. Despite the compilation's shortcomings it is hoped that it will be beneficial to the student of Maryland history as a quick and ready checklist of articles not found in this journal. Hopefully someone in the future will undertake the monstrous task of compiling a complete bibliography of all books and articles that have been published on the state's history.

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Notes on Maryland Historical Society Manuscript Collections

RICHARD J. COX, Curator Manuscripts

Two Marylanders in the Early Navy: The Hambleton Family Papers, MS. 2021

MARYLANDERS HAVE SERVED in the military from the Indian wars of the colonial years to the "police actions" of the most recent past. The manuscript collections of the Society reflect their activities particularly during the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, and Civil War periods. A number of these concern individuals in the Navy.[1] Recently, through the generosity of Mrs. C. Ellis Ellicott, Jr. of Baltimore, the Society was the recipient of another important Naval collection chronicling the careers of two Talbot countians in the early years of that service.

When Samuel Hambleton joined the United States Navy in 1806, this branch of the military was in its infancy. Hambleton was born in early 1777; it was not until 1794 that six frigates were authorized by the government to be constructed constituting the official organization of a standing navy. It is not known why he enlisted. There were few prospects for a glamorous Naval career with President Jefferson emphasizing a small defensive force consisting of little more than gunboat fleets in strategic locations. But Hambleton was a sixth generation Talbot farmer,[2] and, although he never lost a fondness for the land,[3] he may have enlisted searching for a life that had to be more exciting than living on the tranquil Eastern Shore of Maryland.

Commissioned as a Purser, or Paymaster as the rank was later entitled,[4] Samuel had a long career remaining on the active service list until his death in early 1851. He was stationed first as a Purser to a gunboat fleet in New Orleans. In 1812 he was transferred to Oliver Hazard Perry's fleet at New Port, Rhode Island, and went, with Perry, to Lake Erie in the winter of 1813. There Samuel served aboard Perry's

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[1] Dean C. Allard and Betty Bern, comps., *U.S. Naval History Sources in the Washington Area and Suggested Research Subjects* (Washington, D.C., 1970) is an excellent guide on this topic in addition to the related collections mentioned in Avril J. M. Pedley, comp., *The Manuscripts Collections of the Maryland Historical Society* (Baltimore, 1968).

[2] The first of this family to settle in Maryland, William Hambleton, had arrived in 1657. See the notes by Dr. Christopher Johnston on this family in Filing Case A at the Maryland Historical Society.

[3] In his later life, for example, he was a member of the Board of Trustees of the Maryland Agricultural Society for the Eastern Shore. Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County Maryland, 1661–1861* (Baltimore, 1915), 1, 470.

[4] The title was changed by an Act of Congress on June 22, 1860 although the duties remained basically the same. Edward W. Callahan, ed., *List of Officers of the Navy of the United States and of the Marine Corps from 1775 to 1900* . . . . (New York, 1969), p. 12.

flagship, the *Lawrence*, during the famous naval engagement on the Lake on September 10, 1813. A long and detailed description of this battle can be found in Hambleton's diary also owned by the Society.[5] Hambleton and Perry became close friends, Hambleton even naming his Talbot county estate after the Commodore.[6] Until the mid-1840s, he toured the Mediterranean and Caribbean on board such ships as the *Columbus*, *Congress*, and *Erie*. He was also at Pensacola and the Philadelphia Navy Yard at different points in his career.

In the Hambleton Family Papers are twenty-eight letters from Samuel Hambleton mostly to his sister Louisa.[7] This correspondence, covering the years 1813 to 1832, shows in detail the life of a Naval officer in the early nineteenth century.

The earliest letter from Samuel in the collection is written from the Erie post just three weeks after the battle.[8] Addressed to his mother, it relates the receipt of a serious wound which kept him on the disabled list until November. The most interesting of the correspondence is one Samuel penned to his sister in late 1815. Between cruises and residing in George Town, Hambleton attended a dinner party honoring Andrew Jackson, the recent hero of the battle at New Orleans. Samuel wrote that

> nothing is talked of here now but General Jackson, who, with his Lady, arrived three days ago. I waited on them next day in company of Judge Anderson, and was regularly introduced to them—and this evening I spent very sociably and pleasantly in their company. The General is a tall, spare man, with a long visage, Sandy Hair, and blue Eyes—upwards of fifty. His manners are plain, affable and unaffected. I had a good deal of conversation with him. He is familiarly called old *Hickory*, I suppose, from having fought a severe Battle with the Creek Indians at a place called the Hickory Grounds. Mrs. Hickory is a fat, dowdy, good-natured, talking body, who sits in one corner and repeats to those near her the stories that the General is telling in the other. Half an hour is sufficient to become quite sociable with her.

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[5] The Hambleton Diary, MS. 983, covers the years 1813–1814, 1819–1832. This diary poses some intriguing questions. It is not original but appears to be a somewhat later copy. In the Vertical File of the Society is a small part of the original, 1822–1823, with a note in the front that this had been given to Dr. Samuel A. Harrison by Hambleton's sister, Louisa, on December 22, 1870. Oswald Tilghman noted that he had seen the original journal in 1871 but that it had been given back to a member of the Hambleton family and it "is believed to be still in existence;" Tilghman, *History*, I, 460 n. It is quite possible that the copies the Society possesses may have been made for Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, a naval officer and early naval historian, who used it for his biographies of Perry and Decatur. See Samuel Hambleton to Mackenzie, 29 Aug. 1840 and 16 Oct. 1843, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

[6] Hambleton to Perry, 11 Dec. 1813, Perry Papers, Clements Library. "Perry Cabin" is still in existence. There is an interesting description of the house in the Baltimore *American Farmer and Spirit of the Agricultural Journals of the Day*, Aug. 21, 1839. There are numerous letters in the Perry Papers at the Clements Library and at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York that attest to the friendship of Perry and Hambleton.

[7] Louisa (1795–1875) never married and at least one historian suggests she founded in 1820 the first Sunday School in St. Michaels; Tilghman, *History*, 1, 568.

[8] This is a xerox copy of the original owned by the Historical Society of Talbot County in Easton, Maryland. The Society also owns a letterbook of Hambleton's for the years 1806–1811. This is also available on microfilm at the Hall of Records in Annapolis.

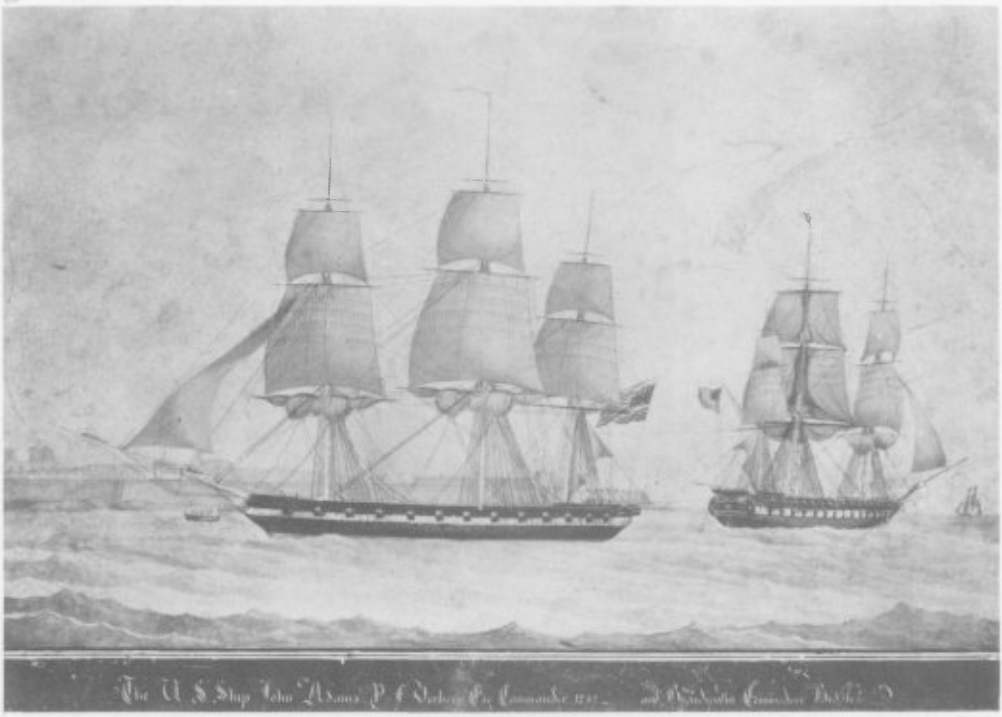
Andrew Jackson. *Maryland Historical Society.*

The remainder of his correspondence generally comments on the varied activities of his Navy life. In 1822, in a letter which is probably typical of the sailor, he tries to comfort Louisa who is anxious about his safety. "I am sorry to be under the necessity of giving pain to those I love. I think it my duty to follow my vocation, which," he continues, "whatever you may think, is not much more dangerous than that of the Husbandman." In the same year he comments on serving under Captain James Biddle, another distinguished naval officer of this period. Sprinkled throughout these letters are comments on politics, economics, social events, etc. Again in 1822, for example, he pictured a "general gloom over the country" for lack of money and "no change for the better expected."

Several times Samuel made references to his brother John. On January 25, 1824 he wrote to Louisa of his efforts to get John commissioned as a Purser like himself. John Needles Hambleton had been in the Navy since 1819, when he was twenty-one, as a Chaplain. Samuel's endeavours were successful, and later in 1824 John was promoted to a Purser. From then until 1861 he was aboard a number of ships. In that year he was placed on the retired list although he was on special duty during the Civil War and, in 1867, a member of the Board of Visitors of the Naval Academy. He died in 1870.

In this collection are thirty-eight letters from John to his sister Louisa in the years 1820 to 1832. Even more than those of Samuel's, John's epistles reflect life on shipboard. The correspondence of 1820 documents his voyage on the *John Adams* to South America. In one he mentioned his apparently successful study to master Spanish. A little less than a month later the reason for his efforts becomes quite clear:

> There is much beauty among the ladies of Buenos Ayres. They are generally stationed at the windows to observe passengers, and see what is going on. They dress gay, and with



John Adams. 1832. *Maryland Historical Society*.

considerable taste, but do not *apparently* wear corsets. Their favorite colours are red, black, and yellow. Walking and riding are their chief amusements, and they excel in both. Like most ladies they understand showing their charms to the best advantage, and always walk without covering the head, in the cool of the eve. They are not *generally* as handsome as those of the U. States, but those eyes are of the most beautiful and expressive black, and add greatly to their other advantages.

His other letters discussed his cruises on the schooner *Nonsuch* in the Gulf of Mexico, Caribbean, and Mediterranean, and on the *John Adams* and *Warren* in the Caribbean. As can be seen from the example above, John was a particularly astute observer of the events of the period as well as the more difficult social mores. In January 1829 he noted his attendance at a "levee" at the White House and recorded that the retiring President, John Adams, appeared to be "in good spirits and goes out ostensibly rejoicing." In another letter of August 1831, while at Hampton Roads, he commented on the recent Nat Turner rebellion. "The negro war is over," he succinctly wrote, going on to say that the "blacks made no regular stand, and skirmished slightly—few were killed on either side. It is pretty certain, from what I heard, that the whites have retaliated on them severely by shooting men and even women in suspicion. The country was abandoned and desolated but the people are beginning to return."

Also in the Hambleton Family Papers are a scattering of other family materials. There are, for example, a few letters of Colonel Samuel Hambleton (1812–1886) the nephew and namesake of the Purser. Colonel Hambleton served in the State Legislature for a number of years, as well as Justice of the Peace, Sheriff, and as an Orphans Court judge for Talbot county. But none of the rest of the items are as interesting or as important as the letters of the two Naval officers from Maryland.

Accessions of the Manuscript Division Since the Publication of *Manuscripts Collections of the Maryland Historical Society* in August, 1968[1]

XI

Harris, William Hall, Scrapbook (MS. 1979). Mostly newspaper clippings concerning Harris as Postmaster of Baltimore in 1904 and his death; 1 vol., 1904–1941. Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Richard A. Jamison.

Hering Family Scrapbooks and Recollections (MS. 1917) Includes a two volume autobiography and two scrapbooks of Joshua Webster Hering (1833–1913) plus miscellaneous letters, pictures, etc. of the family. Mentions of religious (particularly relating to Methodism), political, and military events of the mid-nineteenth century; 4 vols. and 18 items, 1774, 1833–1939, 1951. Donor: Estate of Mrs. Catherine Hering Shriver.

Hibernian Society Papers (MS. 2029). Records of this organization originally founded to help Irish emigrants arriving in Baltimore; 8 boxes and 1 oversize vol., 1816–1960s. Donor: Hibernian Society of Baltimore.

Homer, Charles C., Papers (MS. 1981). Letters mostly concerning the business and financial interests of Homer, a Baltimore merchant and President of the Second National Bank; 22 items, 1860–1927. Donor: Unknown.

Hopkins, Johns, Hospital School of Nursing Scrapbooks (MS. 2040). Include material on the Hopkins' role during both world wars, various nursing programs, research, etc. of the school; 3 vols., 1916–1952. Donor: Johns Hopkins School of Nursing.

Howard, Elizabeth Phoebe Key, Letters (MS. 1839). Primarily letters written to her from her daughter Mary and other family members; 19 items, 1864–1897. Donor: Mrs. Herrick F. Kidder.

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[1] Indexed listing and description of 1,724 of the Society's collections. Available from the Society for $15.00.

Hughes, Thomas, Collection (MS. 1982). Four letters from Charles J. Bonaparte to Hughes and one from Hughes to Bonaparte. All concern Hughes's legal affairs; 5 items, 1883–1906. Donor: Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Lenz.

Independent Beef Company Record Books (MS. 1805). Business records of this Baltimore gourmet food and wine retail establishment; 6 vols., 1937–1950. Donor: Unknown.

Ingle Lodge for Girls (MS. 1791). Records of girls staying at the Lodge and registry of the annual reunions of former Lodge girls; 3 vols., 1912–1949. Donor: Unknown.

Jackson, Howard W. (MS. 1781). Collection of newspaper clippings dealing with the administration of Mayor Howard W. Jackson of Baltimore; 15 vols., 1925–1927. Donor: Unknown.

Janney, Mahon Hopkins, Collection (MS. 1985). Letters written to Janney describing the social life in Baltimore and Alexandria, Virginia; 5 items, 1864. Donor: Mrs. C. W. H. Barnett.

Jay Collection (MS. 1947). Correspondence and papers of Mary Gouldsmith Elizabeth Jay and her husband, John Jay; 20 items, 1824(?)–1970. Donors: Mrs. Clarence H. Taliaferro, Mrs. Herman A. Hobelmann, and Mrs. Frederick H. Henninghausen.

Jay Papers (MS. 1828). Collection of Griffith, Jay, and Davis family papers. Includes 1791 letter about the sale of a slave and 1806 letter concerning costs of placing slave in irons; 38 items, 178(7?)–1885. Donor: Mrs Clarence H. Taliaferro, Mrs. Herman A. Hobelmann, and Mrs. Frederick H. Henninghausen.

Johns Family Papers (MS. 1838). Family and business papers of Johns family chiefly relating to Capt. Kensey Johns II and Kensey Johns III; 1 box, 1748–1898. Donor: Estate of Charles M.S. Niver.

Jones, Alfred, Papers (MS. 2016). Letters, contracts, newspaper clippings, etc. pertaining to the art career of Alfred Jones, line engraver, portrait and genre painter of New York City. Some notable correspondents such as Augustus St. Gaudens, Edward Everett, and G. Hilton Scribner; 98 items, 1841–1913. Donor: Admiral and Mrs. Sherman R. Clark.

Joppa Town Commissioners (MS. 1945). Records of the commissioners for erecting Joppa Town in Baltimore County; 1 vol., 1724–1731. Donor: L. Hollingsworth Pittman.

GENEALOGICA MARYLANDIA

Death Records from Richard Markland's Copy Book

MARY K. MEYER

Richard Markland's copy book (MS. 570), dated on the first page November 10th, 1802, is typical of most schoolboys exercise books and shows his mathematical progression through the Rule of Three. Interspersed throughout are the scrawls and doodlings of young Richard including one sentence that reflects some insight to the boy himself, "Richard Markland[,]his hand[,] *semper* he will be good but god [sic] knows when."

Richard's copy book was preserved and more than thirty years later was put to use again as a place to record the deaths of friends, relatives and neighbors. Although the handwriting of the person who recorded the deaths does not resemble that of the schoolboy, it was in all probability Richard Markland who made the entries.

Richard Markland was born 30 April 1788, the son of John and Margaret (Plimphilon) Markland. He died 28 October 1868 in his 81st year, according to Bible records in Filing Case A at the Maryland Historical Society, but his death is not recorded in his copy book.

The Marlands probably lived in Talbot County, near Oxford. A comparison of the names of those whose deaths are recorded in the Copy Book with names found in Oswald Tilghman's, *History of Talbot County*, show a marked similarity.

Unfortunately, no ages are given for the deceased listed which decreases the value of the record for the genealogist. It does, however, give the genealogist a date on which they may search for an obituary in a local newspaper, a will or other record.

Anderson, James, d. 14 Jan. 1856
Andrrus, Catherine, d. 1 Aug. 1862
Atkinson, Jane, d. 9 Jan. 1860
Auston, William, d. 28 June 1861
Bain, Parson, d. 23 Jan. 1862
Baker, John, d. 11 Apr. 1857
Banning, Anthony, d. 2 May 1843
Banning, Robert, d. 17 Sept. 1845
Barkman, Conrad, d. 25 Mar. 1864
Barnet, Dr. d. 6 Sept. 1858
Barret, Solomon, d. 6 Dec. 1850
Bartlet, Cor.[?] James, d. 4 Dec. 1861
Batty, John W., Senr. d. 24 Dec. 1858
Batty, John W., Senr. d. 31 July 1844
Beatte, Susan, d. 11 Jan. 1863
Benson, Berry, d. 16 May 1854
Benson, Charles, d. 22 May 1864
Benson, Edward, d. 30 Sept. 1867
Benson, Kitturah, d. 1 Mar. 1857
Benson, Mary Ann, d. 11 July 1855
Benson, Nancy, d. 28 Aug. 1863, wife of E.
Berg, Capt. Strand, d. 10 May 1867
Berridge, Mrs. Mary, d. 19 Oct. 1844
Bolman, John, d. 3 Sept. 1858

Bowdle, Benjamin M. d. 19 Apr. 1862
Bowdle, Mrs. E., d. 2 May 1841[?]
Bowdle, Mrs. Juley, d. 20 June 1853
Bowdle, Robert H., d. 9 Jan. 1858
Bracklo, Bennet, d. 14 Jan. 1856
Bradshaw, Anna, d. 1 Jan. 1855
Brinsfield, Mrs. d. 11 Mar. 1859
Bromwell, Aley Ann, d. 12 July 1834
Bromwell, Charles M., d. 8 Sept. 1844 (Sunday)
Bromwell, Elizabeth, d. 16 Sept. 1843
Bromwell Jacob S., d. 1 Feb. 1840
Bromwell, Jeremiah, d. 20 June 1853
Bromwell, Mary, d. 10 Sept. 1831
Bromwell, Mary Ann, d. 12 Jan. 1855
Bromwell, Nicholas, d. 10 Oct. 1867
Bromwell, Miss Rebecca, d. 7 Sept. 1853
Bromwell, Susan, d. 11 Sept., 1859, wife of Edward
Bromwell, Westley, d. 8[?] Oct. 1839
Bromwell, Wiliam, d. 17 July 1847
Brown, Henrietta, d. 23 Aug. 1847
Cane, Mrs. Ann, d. 2 July 1866
Cane, James, d. 13 Aug. 1831
Caulk, Joseph, d. 21 Dec. 1858
Chamberlain, Mis. Elizabeth, d. 28 Mar. 1866
Chamberlain, Mr. Henry, d. 30 Dec. 1862
Chamberlain, Mrs. Lloyd, d. 21 July 1831
Chamberlain, Samuel, d. 17 July 1866
Chaplin, James, d. 27 Apr. 1844
Clark, James E., d. 20 Apr. 1862
Colston, Mrs. A. M., d. 8[?] 1866
Colston, Morris O., d. 17 Feb. 1866
Colston, Mis. Sarah, d. 5 Feb. 1843
Colter, Mrs. d. 12 Aug. 1866
Cook, Mary, d. 1 Apr. 1863
Cook, Mary E., d. 3 Oct. 1859
Council, Zeph., d. 31 Mar. 1858
Counsel, Mrs. Nancy, d. 30 July 1846
Coward, Cap. Thomas, d. 24 Apr. 1859
Cox, Thomas, d. 14 Jan. 1868
Curry had her calf 28 Jan. 1863
Dawson, John, d. 14 Mar. 1864
Dawson, Ms. John, d. 7 May 1854
Delahay, Henry, d. ____ 183__
Delahay, Jesse, d. 25 Jan. 1858 ae 61
Delahay, Mary, d. 10 Aug. 1842[?]
Delahay, Mrs. Sarah, d. 22 Feb. 1838
Demby, Richard, d. 18 Dec. 1838
Denny, Mr. Benjamin, d. 18 Mar ____
Denny, Mrs. Margaret, d. 17 Mar 1868
Denny, Richard, d. 18 Dec. 1838
Denny, Mrs. Sally, d. __ Feb. 1864
Dickenson, Mis. Mariah, d. 3 Sept. 1862
Dickinson, Phillomon, d. 3 Mar. 1862
Dickinson, [?] Solomon, d. 4 June 1838
Dulin, John, d. 14 Nov. 1849
Edmonson, Miss Susan, d. 5 July 1865
Elbert, Dor. [Doctor?], d. 18 Nov. 1865
Emerson, Samuel, d. 5 Nov. 1866
Emory, Elizabeth, d. 25 May 1863
Feveumenton[?], Elizabeth, d. 19 Aug. 1842
Flemmon, John, d. 19 Apr. 1833
Foxwell, Mrs., d. 19 Mar. 1866
Fryer, Sarah, d. 25 Mar. 1857
Gest, William, d. 31 Jan. 1860[?]
Gibson, John, d. 11 Oct. 1866
Gibson, Washington, d. 30 Nov. 1866
Goldsborough, Greenbury, d. 9 Feb. 1828
Goldsborough, James, d. 28 Feb. 1864
Goldsborough, Mrs. Merier, d. 13 Dec. 1855
Goldsborough, Nicholas, d. 7 Oct. 1857
Goldsborough, Richard, d. 7 Oct. 1843
Goldsborough, Tilghman, d. 10 Mar. 1861
Gossage, Charles, d. 31 May 1843
Gossage, Charles, d. 31 Dec. 1845
Gossage, Daniel, d. 2 Nov. 1836
Gossage, Sarah, d. 27 Apr. 183__
Grace, Elizabeth, d. 3 Nov. 1836
Graham, Alexander, d. 1 Dec. 1845
Grase, Samuel, d. 7 Apr. 1859
Gray, John, 9 Aug. 1803 [probably not a death date]
Groome, Mrs., wife of William, d. 4 Jan. 1863
Gwinn, Levin, d. 4 Apr. 1862
Hambleton, Edward, d. 2 May 1854
Hamblton, Samuel, d. 18 Jan. 1851
Hamteton, William, d. 1 Feb. 184__
Hardcastel, Thomas, d. 14 Oct. 1859
Harris, Ann, d. 24 Dec. 1860
Harris, Conley, d. 26 Oct. 1860
Harris, John, d. 6 Mar. 1865

Harris, John W., d. 14 Aug. 1860
Harris, Margaret, d. 29 July 1838
Harris, Mrs. Sarah, wife of Hugh, d. 9 May 1861
Harris, William, d. 28 Apr. 1850
Harriso[n?], Mrs. E., d. 4 Mar. 1838
Harrison, A. P., d. 26 Apr. 1847
Harrison, Bond, d. 24 Mar. 1855
Harrison, Mrs. [?], d. 29 July 1861
Harwood, Mr., d. 16 June 1867
Hayward, Thomas, d. 3 July 1838
Hewlett, Mrs. [?], d. 20 Dec. 1863
Higgins, Josiah, d. 15 Nov. 1866
Higgins, Luzsita[?], d. 10 Aug. 1856
Hill, Isaac, d. 24 Feb. 1868
Hill, John, d. 14 May 1865
Holmes, [John?], d. [?] May 1843[?]
Hopkins, James, d. [?] Aug. 1868, Easton point
Hopkins, Nathaniel, d. 13 Nov. 1866
Hopper, Judge, d. 28 Mar. 1858
Hubbert, Mrs. Mary, d. 10 Mar. 1838
Jackson, Mathu, d. 29 Nov. 1866
James, Mrs. Mary, d. 7 Nov. 1866
Jenkins, Elizabeth, d. 25 Dec. 1843
Jenkins, George, d. 11 Oct. 1866
Jenkins, John W., d. [?] May 18__
Jones, Capt. William, d. 18 Feb 1868
Kemp, Dock. Samuel, d. 7 Nov. 1856
Kemp, Samuel, d. 10 Jan. 1851
Kemp, Sarah, d. 21 Aug. 1842
Kempe, Yarnal, d. 30 Dec. 1846
Kennard, Samuel, d. 17 Sept. 1845
Kirby, Edward, d. 5 Apr. 1857
Kirby, Lambert, b. 30 Dec. 1863
Kirby, Seley, d. 25 Apr. 1843
Kerr, John L., d. 21 Feb. 1844
Lain, Richard, Gov., d. 25 Feb. 1868
Leonard, Ms. Jasua, d. 19 Mar. 183__
Leonard, Mrs. Martha, d. 22 Feb. 1861
Leonard, Mary, d. 30 Jan. 1868
Leonard, Cap. Robinson, d. 18 Sept. 1868
Leonard, William, d. 4 Jan. 1859
Lile, Mrs., d. 29 Oct. 1864
Lloyd, Edward, d. 10 Aug. 1861
Lloyd, Edward, d. 22 Feb. 1864
Long, William, d. 5 Nov. 1856
McKenett[?], Robert K., d. 18 Jan. 1859
Mackey, Phillomon, d. 13 Apr. 1863
Mackey, Samuel, d. 31 Mar. 1859
Maloney, Jame, d. 18 Apr. 1863
Melony, Mrs., d. 1 Feb. 1848
Markland, Charles, d. 13 Apr. 1868
Marland, Edward, d. 20 July 1841
Markland, Frances, d. 27 Feb. 1833 in the 4th year of her age
Markland, Frances Ann, d. 9 May 1854 age 7 years—4 months
Markland, James, d. 1 Feb. 1859
Markland, John T., d. 14 Apr. 1863 in 46th year
Markland, Margaret, d. 16 Dec. 1831
Markland, Sarah, d. 3 Jan. 1846
Markland, William, d. 1 Nov. 1840
Marshall, Mrs. Sarah, d. 26 June 1854
Marshall, William, d. 4 Jan. 1859
Mas[h], Docttor, d. 26 Apr. 1868
Martin, Charles, d. 24 Dec. 1866
Martin, Gov. Daniel, d. 17 July 1851
Martin, Edward O., d. 5 Jan. 1868
Martin, Ennals, d. 11 May 18__
Martin, John S., d. 28 Apr. 1863
Martin, Joseph, d. 9 June 1890
Martin, Nicholas, d. 13 Oct. 1858
Martin, William, d. 6 May 1866
Meres (Meves?), Luis, Senr., d. 5 Sept. 1865
Mister, Capt., d. 29 Dec. 1855
Mister, Levin, d. 24 Nov. 1855
Morris, Jeremiah, d. 24 May 1867
Mullikin, Benjamin, d. 1 Aug. 1855
Mullikin, Solomon, d. 8 Feb. 1855
Myers, Mrs., d. 10 June 1858 ae 73 years
Nash, John, d. 12 July 1846
Oven[?], Andrew, d. 8 Apr. 1868
O[w]ens, Kennady, d. [?] Feb. 1858
Oxenham, Mordica, d. 11 Dec. 1856
Ozment, Emma, d. 21 Dec. 1858
Ozment, Jonathan, d. 14 Oct. 1863
Ozmon, Capt. William, d. 13 Sept. 1855
Pamphilion, [K]itty, d. 26 Sept. 1854
Parrot, James, d. 18 Aug. 1860
Parsons, Thomas, d. 28 Feb. 1866
Pumphilon, James, Senr., d. 18 May 1829
Plummer, Berry, d. 5 Nov. 1855

Plummer, Mrs., d. 2 May 1860
Pritchard, John, d. 24 Apr. 1836
Randle, Elizabeth, d. 10 Feb. 1854
Richardson, Mary, d. 10 Aug. 1859[?]
Robenson, Mis. Margaret, d. 14 Mar. 1860
Roberts, Mrs. Sarah, d. 21 Sept. 1843
Robinson, Catharine, d. 2 Mar. 1844
Robinson, Charles, d. 24 Jan. 1868
Robinson, Capt. David, d. 18 May 1838
Robinson, Murphey, d. 18 Mar. 1851
Robinson, Perry, d. 27 Aug. 1857
Roggers, Mrs. Merier, d. 9 May 1861
Ross, William, d. 26 Feb. 1868
Salsbury, Mis., d. 7 Jan. 1860
Shurwood, Miss Harriet, d. 7 Feb. 1863
Simmons, Mrs., d. 24 Sept. 1863
Singleton, Nicholas, d. 25 Sept. 1842
Skinner, William C., d. 6 Aug. 1859
Small, John, d. 9 Sept. 1866
Smart, John, d. 14 Apr. 1864
Smawll, Sanuel [sic], d. 24 Jan. 1868
Smith, Mrs. Anna, d. 26 Nov. 1857
Smith, Elizabeth, d. 11 Jan. 1848
Spencer, Henry, d. 17 Jan. 1837
Standfield, Mrs. d. 7 Apr. 1858
Stevens, Henrietta, d. 6 Oct 1841[?]
Stevens, Mis. Mary, d. 5 Jan. 1866
Stevens, Peter, d. 18 May 1866
Stevens, Gov. Samuel, d. 6 Feb. 1860
Stevenson, Capt., d. 21 Sept. 1861
Stevenson, John, d. 30 Sept. 1868
Stewart, Charles, d. 8 Apr. 1868
Stewart, Cap. James, d. 18 Mar. 1838
Stewart, Mary, d. 19 July 1838
Stewart, Matilday, wife of Perry, d. 24 Apr. 1858
Stokere, Wrightson, d. 9 Aug. 1829
Stoker, Mary, d. 27 Oct. 1833
Thomas, James, d. 2 Oct. 1855
Thomas, Mr. Nicholas, d. 22 Mar. 1838
Tilghman, Mrs. A. M., d. 12 Jan. 1843
Tilghman, Mrs. Anna wife of Tench Tilghman, Jr., d. 13 Oct. 1862
Tilghman, F. Tench, d. 3 Oct. 1867
Tilghman, John L., d. [?] Jan. 1863
Tilghman, William H., d. 22 Aug. 1858
Townsand, William, d. 5 Jan. 1864
Townsend, Henry, d. 28 Nov. 1865
Townsend, Mrs. M., d. 20 May 1866
Trip, William R., d. 19 Jan. 1853
Tripp, Lavenia, d. 3 Dec. 1842
Tripp, Mrs. Marion, d. 5 Mar. 1864
Troy, Margaret, d. 20 Apr. 1863
Troy, Margaret, d. 24 May 1834
Troy, Solomon, d. 30 Sept. 1856
Valliant, Miss Harriet, d. 10 Feb. 1865
Valliant, Hugh, d. 8 July 1859
Valliant, Jeremiah, d. 26 July 1851
Valliant, John, d. 3 Oct. 1866
Valliant, [?], his wife d. 5 Oct. 1866
Valliant, Rigby, d. 28 Mar. 1858
Valliant, Robert, d. 22 Aug. 1858
Warton, Mary Ann, d. 8 Feb. 1867
Watts, Elizabeth, d. 21 Sept. 1859
Watts, Elizabeth, d. 18 Jan. 1836
Watts, Samuel, d. 23 Mar. 1832
Watts, Thomas, d. 11 Feb. 1857
Willis, Alexander, d. 4 Sept. 1854
Willis, Frances, d. 9 June 1866
Willis, Frances, d. 20 July 1854
Willis, Jane, d. 25 Dec 1832
Willis, John, d. 18 Mar. 1837
Willis, Mrs. [?], wife of Jonathan, d. 31 Mar. 1862
Willis, Nancy, d. 21 June 1864
Willis, Phillemon, d. 5 Mar. 183__
Willis, Richard B., d. 9 Aug. 1857
Willis, Ruth A., d. 22 Aug. 1856
Willis, William B., d. 4 Nov. 1865
Willson, James, d. 1 Dec. 1842
Wilson, Mrs. Elizabeth, d. 4 Feb. 1860
Worrell, Mrs. Ann, d. 8 Oct. 1865
Zane, Mrs., wife of Richard Z., d. 8 June 1860

Reviews of Recent Books

Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–1692. By Lois Green Carr and David William Jordan. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974. Pp. xviii, 321. $15.00.)

Lois Carr and David Jordan have written the best history of any of the three colonial rebellions in 1689 and indeed one of the best monographs about the seventeenth-century colonies. Both authors wrote doctoral dissertations on the Maryland revolution, he at Princeton under Craven in 1964, she at Harvard under Bailyn in 1968. The present book rests lightly on that early research and more heavily on research done since then. The collaboration has been very successful. The finished product is well-written and exhibits no rough joints or ugly corners to show where the work of one author ended and the other began.

The methodology is primarily the study of provincial and county records, particularly those of county courts, probated wills, inventories of estates, and Land Office records. Most of this material is still in manuscript only, and in some real measure its accessibility in the superbly organized Maryland Hall of Records was a pre-condition to the monograph. No other state has taken such good care of its historical records. Carr and Jordan pieced together the careers of dozens of little-known planters who sat on the Provincial Council, or the revolutionary Associators' Convention, or served as county militia officers or justices of the peace. This rigorous attention to personnel combined with careful use of more traditional evidence has been most successful.

In their methodology Carr and Jordan were the fortunate heirs of a line of research which goes back at least to Donnell M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland* (1953), and which seems to be a particular achievement of Maryland's historical scholarship. But Owings's book is not alone in the background. A presence, almost a third author, is detectable in the person of Russell Menard, who as Historian of St. Mary's City Commission, published recently two important articles on seventeenth-century Maryland (*MHM*, LXVIII; *W&MQ*, XXX). With great generosity Menard made the research incorporated in no less than three unpublished manuscripts available to Carr and Jordan, and additional acknowledgements to him are scattered throughout their book. The quality of Mr. Menard's published work together with the quality of the book under review and the indication of further like research sponsored by St. Mary's City Commission and Temple University combine to put studies of Maryland's history in the forefront (at last) of our colonial scholarship.

It seems to me that the one common and sufficient goal of the Maryland rebel leaders was access to government, until then denied them by Lord Baltimore. A composite profile of these leaders, composed of the biographies of the planters elected to the Associators' Convention in 1689, shows them to have been for the most part born in England, possessed of estates measuring between one and two thousand acres, often engaged in trade, and not infrequently established in Maryland through an advantageous marriage. This was a rebellion from the top of society, not the bottom, not even the middle ranks. Perhaps for this reason, the revolution in Maryland was far less violent than in New York or Massachusetts. It called forth only a brief show of force, produced few arrests, and enjoyed a rapid return to normality. Carr and Jordan

emphasize that "stable local governments kept order without resort to military rule or even much repressive exercise of magistratical powers." (p. 228)

An all-too-short sketch of the structure of Maryland society about 1680–1690 reveals that up to 40 per cent of the adult male population were either servants or hired labor, that as many as one-third of the remainder rented land on short and insecure terms, that generally even leaseholders did not participate in local government, and that most (maybe 70 per cent) of the planters who did own their land, owned less than 500 acres. The authors estimate that the number of men "eligible for major office" was "probably no more than 290," which works out to approximately 2½ per cent of the adult male population. This was the tiny elite which accomplished the revolution of 1689. While it can hardly be spoken of as a democratic revolution in the modern sense of those words, the rebellion did achieve a significant enlargement of the number of governing families.

Quite clearly men and women from lower ranks of society must also have participated in the rebellion. Coode assembled a force of about 700 at the climax of the confrontation, and most of them must necessarily have been from some socio-economic status well below that of the Associators. Presumably because the authors found no evidence of who they were (servants?, tenants?, leaseholders?, freeholders?,) nothing is said of them. While such a consequence is understandable in terms of methodology, it is also the kind of history which has for so long ignored the preponderant part of humanity. I find it surprising in this day and age that a book as up-to-date as this one pays so little attention to the inarticulate.

Massachusetts rebelled in April, 1689; New York followed suit in May and June; the march on St. Mary's took place in August. These three provincial rebellions had much in common, or at least so it has always seemed on the surface. But now Carr and Jordan have come along to show features of the events in Maryland which have no counterparts in the North. The range of revolutionary leadership, the level of violence, and the long-drawn-out opposition in Massachusetts and New York contrast strongly with Maryland's experience. The recent volume by David Lovejoy, *The Glorious Revolution in America* (1972), considers all three rebellions; but comparison of this book with Carr and Jordan's is difficult. The two books are written in profoundly different manners. Lovejoy's casts a much wider net and seeks for (and to some degree finds) general explanations of the causes and meaning of the revolution in America. Carr and Jordan's book is more sharply focused, more tightly argued. The new kinds of evidence it brings gives their history a solidity, a concreteness, an exactitude beyond anything we have had heretofore. Carr and Jordan have surely set a model for future studies of the revolutions in New York and Massachusetts, and for seventeenth-century studies in general.

The University of Texas at Austin MICHAEL G. HALL

Thomas Bray's Grand Design: Libraries of the Church of England in America, 1695–1785. By Charles T. Laugher. (Chicago: American Library Association, 1973, ACRL Publications in Librarianship, no. 35. Pp. x, 115. $8.50.)

It is generally acknowledged that the present public library movement in this country had its origin in the late nineteenth century because of the philanthropy of men such as Andrew Carnegie and Enoch Pratt. An even older, certainly less well known, but abortive public library

movement began at the turn of the eighteenth century with the work of the Anglican missionary, Thomas Bray. Bits and pieces of information on Bray's projects have appeared in various sources. Most of the information available deals with the Maryland experience where Bray did his earliest and most extensive educational work. But now Charles Laugher, Director of the Robert Frost Library at Amherst College, illuminates the facts of Bray's libraries throughout the North American continent, showing that what is known of the Maryland libraries applies equally to the other colonies.

Laugher, following the work of Bernard C. Steiner and Joseph T. Wheeler, emphasizes the importance of the Bray libraries as a means of "winning the battle against intellectual poverty" that at times threatened to overwhelm the meager life of the mind in rural colonial America. Although the various libraries were intended to nourish the religious existence, in particular that of the Anglican Church, and were an outgrowth of the missionary impulse, they served some secular functions. The collections in all the colonies included a variety of useful, how-to-do-it, and much general educational reading material. Laugher proves conclusively that the secular collections were heavily used and appreciated in the backwater areas where few other books were to be had.

The author brings together all the information regarding Bray's various library activities. He describes the different types of libraries established, and the organizations through which Bray worked to realize his plans. Thus we know that Thomas Bray's grand design to mitigate the cultural poverty of the colonies included the creation of a large, general library in the chief city of each province, as well as a local circulating branch called the layman's library to serve the residents of the parish free of charge, and a smaller parochial library for the use of the parish priest, all supported by donations from across the ocean. By the time of his death in 1730 Bray had laid the foundation of seventy libraries in North America alone, including the first free libraries in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Charleston, and Bath (North Carolina). Laugher then follows the story of the libraries after their initial founding and traces the accretion of books from other sources as well as the disappearance of parts of the collections. He has discovered the final resting places of many of those books.

Thomas Bray's vision, however, was never fully realized since none of his momentous creations actually formed the nucleus of an ongoing library system. Laugher repeats the stock explanations that a lack of local support, the extensive religious diversity, the dislocations of the revolutionary war, and American nationalism all contributed to the failure of the scheme. But he suggests no additional causes.

For a short book, Laugher has packed it with a great deal of detail and included useful Appendixes giving library locations and catalogs. He has made liberal use of the missionary societies' papers, colonial records, and Bray's account books. Unfortunately the result of his labors is a superficial account of an important intellectual development, delivered in a too dry, matter-of-fact style. The book lacks the necessary elucidating embellishments to give it depth. One hopes in vain, for instance, for some serious reflection on the scope of the libraries and their influence, some deeper insight into the failure of the grand design.

Although the author has made a syncretic contribution to our knowledge of Bray's various library schemes, this work is only a beginning. The definitive history of that ill-starred library system is yet to be written.

Morgan State College ELAINE G. BRESLAW

Roots of Maryland Democracy, 1753–1776. By David Curtis Skaggs. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1973. Pp. xii, 253. $12.00.)

In order to gauge the extent to which Maryland's political system was "democratized" by 1776, it is absolutely essential that there be voting lists. There are none. As a consequence, David Skaggs is totally unable to accomplish his goal of unearthing the *Roots of Maryland Democracy* in the years prior to the American Revolution. The typographical error on page 213 admirably sums up Skagg's dilemma. He writes that "the major *trust* of this monograph has been to show that economic, social and political democracy was severely limited in colonial Maryland, and that there were attempts to modify this situation in the decade before the Constitution of 1776." In terms of the Ranney and Kendall model he uses, which is based upon contemporary political behavior, some trust must be warranted, but in fact their concept of "democracy" is so closely defined that it would be impossible for any political culture now or then to be classified as truly democratic.

Apart from comparison with the Ranney and Kendall model, nowhere else does Skagg's argument for internal revolution deserve the credence he so forcefully demands. There is no question that inequities existed in Maryland colonial society. They have been amply demonstrated by a large number of careful scholars. It is also very clear from Skagg's narrative that political participation was circumscribed by restrictions that had the potential for being onerous. The question is whether or not they were in fact perceived so. The problem is not so much to establish that there were rules delimiting political and social behavior, but to determine at what point those rules become an insufferable burden to the governed. To say as Skaggs does that that point was reached gradually over the years, beginning in the social and ecnomic tensions of the prewar years and ending with universal manhood suffrage in 1802, begs a leap of faith spanning a generation of postwar social and economic upheaval characterized by concentrated urban growth and widespread rural decay. It would be more reasonable to assert that what occurred in the postwar period was far more important to fomenting an "impulse to Democracy" than conditions in the immediate prewar years.

There is no question that David Skaggs has worked long and hard with his evidence. That he did so with such meager results must have been as painful to him as it is to the reader. Democracy or the lack thereof is simply not a resolvable issue with the data at hand. More to the point would have been a study of the "Roots of Maryland Conservatism," but that would have necessitated a comparison of the society and economy before and after the war, and would have entailed considerably more analysis and detail than is evident in this book.

Maryland Hall of Records EDWARD C. PAPENFUSE

Louis McLane: Federalist and Jacksonian. By John A. Munroe. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1973. Pp. xii, 763. $22.50.)

In a curious way this biography reflects the career of its subject. It is long, thoroughly researched, well-organized, and well-written, but it leaves the reader with a peculiar sense of unfulfillment. One finally concludes that a biography of Louis McLane was destined to produce just that effect.

Few Americans of the present could identify McLane, yet he was a significant figure in his

own time. Lawyer, congressman, diplomat, cabinet member, and business executive—in all these endeavors he performed with intelligence and distinction. He nevertheless failed to achieve true greatness, and he is remembered principally today as a figure in Jackson's cabinet during the struggle over the Bank of the United States. It is an intriguing question as to how a person who rose to such prominence failed to make a more lasting impression.

What McLane achieved he owed largely to his own intelligence, industry, and administrative talent. Although he was highly ambitious, devoted to the main chance, suspicious, grudge-bearing, choleric, and somewhat unlovable, it seems probable that McLane's failures were due less to his personal traits than to the circumstances of his background and the quirks of chance. One wonders whether he might not have achieved greatness if he had received his much-desired appointment to the Supreme Court.

As a politician he suffered from the small political base afforded him by his native state of Delaware and from the added circumstance that Delaware remained a bastion of the Federalist party long after that party had become anathema in the nation as a whole. Son of a Federalist collector of the customs who achieved some notoriety during the Burr-Jefferson contest in 1801, McLane profited from his Federalist connections and was elected to Congress in 1816. Reelected five times, he was subsequently elected to the Senate in 1827. Despite his Federalism, he rose to the chairmanship of the Ways and Means Committee. He lost his political base in Delaware in 1829 when he attempted to win the state for Andrew Jackson, and from that time forward he was a rootless politician whose advancement was dependent upon the favor of others.

He had hoped for a Supreme Court appointment from Jackson, but special circumstances prevented his receiving it. He was chosen as minister to Great Britain, and when the cabinet was reorganized after the Peggy Eaton affair he was recalled and made secretary of the treasury. Despite his sympathy toward rechartering the Bank of the United States, he got along well with Jackson and was moved to the secretaryship of state when Jackson sought a secretary of the treasury willing to approve the withdrawal of federal deposits from the Bank. He left the cabinet in 1834 because Jackson had not followed his advice with respect to the French spoliation claims.

His obvious talents opened a new career in business. He was made president of the Morris Canal and Banking Company of New Jersey in 1835 and achieved "respectability and profitability" (p. 463) for the firm before accepting the presidency of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in 1837. Except for a brief mission to England, he was president of this company until 1848 and succeeded in improving its financial position, increasing the efficiency of its operations, and pushing it westward toward its Ohio River objective, a goal actually realized by his successor.

Despite his successes in business, McLane was elated by new opportunities for a public career offered by President Polk. Designated minister to Great Britain in 1845, he anticipated a bright future resulting from the settlement of the Oregon crisis. To his chagrin, Polk kept the negotiations in Washington. McLane left England in 1846 with the expectation of succeeding James Buchanan as secretary of state, but his hopes were crushed when Buchanan unexpectedly rejected an appointment to the Supreme Court. Except for his subsequent membership in the Maryland constitutional convention of 1850 and 1851, McLane's political career had come to its end.

McLane enjoyed a long and happy marriage to Catherine Milligan of Bohemia, Cecil County, Maryland, but he was less happy in his relations with his numerous children, one of whom became completely alienated from her father. The many letters exchanged by McLane

and his wife have enabled Professor Munroe to provide considerable information on the family and on the private views of McLane. He makes candid assessments of McLane's personality and motivations, but he avoids any attempt at psychoanalysis.

In the turbulent America of Jacksonian politics and the burgeoning economic changes of the "Transportation Revolution" McLane moved without difficulty from politics to business, but he did so reluctantly. As Professor Munroe observes, "to McLane, as to many men of his generation, a business career seemed anticlimactic, a sad though salaried decline for a statesman. To a later generation, his early eareer might seem to be the waste of time and talent." (p. 599)

The author has written a straightforward, impartial, and essentially narrative account of McLane's life, based for the most part upon McLane's letters and correspondence. The book embraces such incidents as the Missouri controversy, South Carolina nullification, and the Bank struggle, and Professor Munroe has discussed then all, but he has hewed to his own line, presenting these and other events wholly in terms of McLane's views and actions. He makes no attempt to dispute or to reconcile conflicting views of others. In other words, this is a biography of McLane and only incidentally a history of his times.

Based upon enormous research, presented in excellent prose punctuated at intervals with the author's wry wit, unbiased in its evaluations of its subject, this is a good biography which does seem to tell most of us more about McLane than we really wanted to know. It is unquestionably the definitive biography of the man.

Rice University SANFORD W. HIGGINBOTHAM

The Free Soilers; Third Party Politics, 1848–54. By Frederick J. Blue. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973. Pp. xii, 350. $10.95.)

Although a number of excellent scholarly studies dealing with anti-slavery politics and politicians have appeared in recent years, considerable research remains to be done on the topic. Lacking are studies of the anti-slavery careers of such men as Salmon Chase, Gamaliel Bailey, Martin Van Buren, and his son John. In addition, a history of the Free Soil Party has long been needed. Now the appearance of this volume by Professor Frederick J. Blue of Youngstown State University well fills that latter need.

The Free Soilers traces the origins, activities, and aftermath of this third party which lasted for the brief span of six years. According to the author, the book is "essentially a leadership study rather than one stressing the grass roots following" because the Free Soil movement was "dominated by a few at the top" rather than "characterized by a spontaneous groundswell of popular support." (p. x) The emphasis is national, although important state developments in New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Wisconsin are treated in detail when pertinent to the national picture. Professor Blue argues that a critical failure of the Free Soilers was their indifference to important state and local issues as well as their lack of grass roots organization and activity.

The central concern of the author is the constant tension which existed in the party between anti-extension principle and political expediency. Although the party included committed men of principle like Joshua Giddings, Gamaliel Bailey, and John Gorham Palfrey, Blue views the majority of its leaders as ambitious men who acted "like politicians in quest of a job." Despite their avowed anti-slavery commitment, such leaders as Salmon Chase, Martin Van Buren, and

Henry Wilson readily compromised their principles and/or deserted the party in their quest for political advancement. According to the author, these dual motivations of principle and expediency explain both the formation of the party in 1848 as well as its subsequent decline and demise. Professor Blue contends that although the party itself failed, the Free Soilers played an important role in keeping the anti-extension issue alive in the days after the Compromise of 1850, thus paving the way for the formation of the Republican Party in 1854. Like other studies which have dealt with aspects of the Free Soil movement in recent years, this volume details the strong anti-black racial prejudice of the Free Soilers. To them, anti-extension meant the exclusion of both free and slave blacks.

The Free Soilers is a significant book which considerably enhances our understanding of politics and party realignment between 1848 and 1854. It is well-written and clearly organized. The author's findings are based on extensive primary research including a mass of manuscript and newspaper sources. In addition, election statistics have been analyzed to determine the prior party allegiance of the Free Soil vote. Also useful is an analysis of the motives of politicians like Hannibal Hamlin and Abraham Lincoln, who chose not to join the party despite their basic sympathy with its principles. *The Free Soilers*, then, should stand as the definitive treatment of this topic for years to come.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee JOHN H. SCHROEDER

Henry Winter Davis: Antebellum and Civil War Congressman from Maryland. By Gerald Henig. (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1973. Pp. 324. $7.50.)

In late October, 1859, Congressman Henry Winter Davis addressed a crowd of Know-Nothing supporters in Monument Square. Flanked by banners decorated with awls, clenched fists, and even the bleeding heads of opponents, Davis urged, with his customary rhetorical skill, opposition to the Papish influence in politics, resistance to the Democratic party, and support of the Know-Nothings. Within the week, after the bloodiest election in Baltimore's history, his constituency returned him to Congress for the second of four terms. Here Davis further angered many Marylanders by supporting the Republican candidate for Speaker of the House. Henceforth the Baltimore Congressman was irrevocably associated with both the political violence of nativist clubs and the philosophical intemperance of voting "Black Republican."

Such images, as Gerald Henig successfully argues in *Henry Winter Davis: Antebellum and Civil War Congressman from Maryland*, are both unbalanced and unfair. Davis, in Henig's words, was "a colorful, eloquent and independent-minded political leader who was instrumental in helping to keep Maryland loyal, in ridding his native state of slavery, and in developing and guiding the initial stages of radical reconstruction." In order to establish this revisionist position, Henig focuses almost exclusively on Davis's political career, and while neither the Congressman's association with Know-Nothingism nor his early years as a child in Anne Arundel county, as a student at Kenyon College, and as a lawyer in Alexandria is omitted, Henig gives primary attention to the years of war and reconstruction. From this perspective Davis emerges as a brilliant legislator committed to preserving the Union from southern secessionists, safeguarding the Constitution from executive power, and protecting the freedman from racist negligence. Thus it is Henry Winter Davis who introduces a plan to end Congressional disagreements over the searing issue of slavery in the territories by voting on New Mexico statehood; it is Henry Winter Davis who campaigns for Maryland's "Emancipa-

tion" Constitution of 1864 and finally, it is Henry Winter Davis, before his premature death in 1865, who develops a Congressional policy on reconstruction in the famous bill which bore his name—the Wade-Davis Bill of 1864.

While perhaps exaggerating Davis's influence on Maryland where the House of Delegates censured him in 1860 and where he was often a political pariah, Henig is rarely guilty of the sin of biographers with roseate vision who see no thorns on their subjects. Thus Davis's impulsiveness, his tirades against Lincoln, and his ill-tempered reaction to criticism are all perceptively evaluated. Nor does Henig make Davis what he clearly is not—an old-line abolitionist and commited Negrophile. Only haltingly did the Maryland Congressman move toward support of Negro rights, and it is this progression which makes Henig's constant references to Davis as a radical and "ultra" disconcerting. Clearly Davis was in advance of many Americans on issues involving freedmen; clearly his allies in Congress were Republicans often identified by their opponents as "radicals." Yet for some years now American historians have urged a more precise definition of radical Republicanism, and some scholars even question the use of the term at all. Henig, however, applies the term unsystematically to everyone from local merchant Peter Sauerwein to Maryland's Unconditional Unionists to Michigan Senator Zachariah Chandler, and in so doing he blurs the image of Davis's own political career.

As Henig's treatment—and indeed that of many recent Davis watchers—suggests, the linchpin of the Congressman's political career was not philosophical commitment to blacks, nor belief in the Union; rather it was persistent hatred of the Democratic party. Warned by his father "to beware of the follies of Jacksonism," Davis viewed what other politicians dismissed as partisan struggles as Manichean conflicts between the evils of the Democracy and the good of Know-Nothing Unionism. Henig, in his clear if uninspired prose, concludes that Davis's political motivation was grounded in hatred of the Democrats, and in one of his only departures from traditional biography, suggests that this hatred manifested a psychological dimension—"a certain inner hysteria."

While the psychodynamics of Davis's behavior await another biographer, Henig has contributed a much-needed political study of an important Maryland Congressman. In a time when recent state politicians have not fared well, the career of an influential nineteenth century Marylander who, in his biographer's words, had a "high sense of duty to his country," may prove edifying and enlightening to many Marylanders.

Goucher College JEAN H. BAKER

"*What Is the Good of History?*": *Selected Letters of Carl L. Becker, 1900–1945*. Edited, with an Introduction by Michael Kammen. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973. Pp. xlii, 372. $12.50.)

On the one-hundredth anniversary of Carl Becker's birth Cornell University Press has issued a handsomely bound volume of letters written by Becker during the years 1900 to 1945. While the volume contains no surprises to students familiar with the literature on Becker, it does contain some of the best letters ever written by a historian; and it is, from the technical point of view, competently edited. I do, however, have mixed feelings about what is offered here. A volume half this size would have firmly established Becker as one of the best letter writers in the American academy, and without sacrificing the editor's intention of using these letters to

present Becker's self-portrait or "autobiography." The present volume, however, includes many letters which simply do not merit publication, either as memorable prose or as revealing documents. Moreover, by selecting too many letters written when Becker was ill or from the later years when he was old and tired, the editor has, unintentionally and apparently unknowingly, created a picture in which Becker emerges as far more gossipy, ineffectual, sentimental, and bored than was actually the case. Also, there are too many footnotes. When Becker in a letter mentions Scott's novels, there is a footnote reminding us that Sir Walter Scott wrote the Waverley Novels; when Becker agrees with Edmund Burke that he did not know how to indict a whole nation, there is a footnote, "Burke (1729–1797) was a British politician and writer." When Becker in a long probing letter to William E. Dodd explains the reasons for his disillusionment with Woodrow Wilson and expresses doubt that Wilson will ever rank with Lincoln, there is a footnote reading, "Note that Becker, like Lincoln, was from the Middle West, while Dodd, like Wilson, was a southerner." (p. 71) Since there is no evidence in this letter or elsewhere that Becker had any regional prejudices, this note is irrelevant to our understanding of why Becker thought as he did about Wilson.

Almost everyone who has written about Becker, including the editor of this volume, believes that he will endure. I think Becker will endure because of his contributions to intellectual history and his reflections on historiography; and this volume contains the important letters in which Becker stated some of his views on historiography. Coincidentally with reading this volume, I have been discussing in a course in the philosophy of history Jack Meiland's *Scepticism and Historical Knowledge* (1965), and I have been struck anew by the continued relevance of Becker's remarks concerning the problems of verifying statements about the past and the relationship between the historian's present interests and his construction of historical narratives. To be sure, Becker never resolved the tension between his emphasis on the mythic "everyman his own historian" nature of the historical enterprise and his belief that "The function of the historian is to tell as accurately as he can what happened." (p. 234) Yet this problem is still very much with us. Becker may have been a trained historian, but he was a born philosopher in the sense of having a sure instinct for locating the fundamental philosophical difficulties relating to the problem of historical knowledge.

Another reason why Becker may endure emerges clearly from these letters, namely that he was a thoroughly decent man. He was modest but respectful of his own talents; he did not seek to castrate his graduate students and preferred to play the part of encouraging uncle to that of the severe father; he was truthful but courteous in dealing with his colleagues in the profession; he did not engage in verbal overkill; and he did not sacrifice the autonomy of his intellectual pursuits to jump onto the political bandwagon (which got him into trouble with both the Left and the Right).

Over a decade has passed since my intellectual biography of Becker was published, and in that time, as Walker Percy remarks, the center has failed to hold. Since Becker was very much a man of the center, morally as well as politically, I have gone over these letters again in part searching for some clue as to why the center may have collapsed, even if that collapse proves temporary. Unlike the more euphoric liberals of the early and mid-1960s, Becker did not promise too much; perhaps he offered too little, and over-emphasized the limits of both reason and the passions. He saw the need for a more just distribution of income, but he did not grasp what the more charismatic political leaders have seen, the passion for self-denial and the longing for community on the part of mass man. He was, as he himself jokingly admitted, thoroughly bourgeois; and he failed, I think, to understand fully that while contracts, especially contracts with universities and publishers, may be sacred, they hardly suffice as sacred objects.

He wrote almost every morning, as though somewhat afraid of what might happen on the days when he did not write. He sheltered himself, he specialized, as a professional man who dealt in ideas, while at times doubting the wisdom of specialization. If he survives, it will be because he was the best of his kind, which is after all still very much our kind.

University of California at Santa Barbara BURLEIGH WILKINS

A Guide to Baltimore Architecture. By John Dorsey and James D. Dilts. (Cambridge, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1973. Pp. 1, 246. $4.95.)

A Guide to Baltimore Architecture promises to "interest visitors and residents alike in the city's architecture" through the device of a series of tours in both the historical and contemporary areas. Baltimore has long needed a new book of this type, and those who knew the publication of Messers. Dorsey's and Dilts's volume was approaching awaited it with keen anticipation. Howland and Spencer's *The Architecture of Baltimore*, the standard text for local architecture buffs, has been out of print for some years and much of the city has changed in recent times, especially in the downtown and inner harbor areas. Insofar as this book remains a guidebook, it accomplishes its authors' purpose. Where it fails, however, is as an architectural reference for the layman.

Conveniently published in pocket edition, the *Guide* offers thirteen well-planned tours which range from historic Mt. Vernon Place to a driving tour of the north and northwest suburbs. Each tour is a logical division of the region, accompanied by a good map indicating the individual sites to be visited. There is an introduction to each section, describing historical, architectural, and cultural features–a real aid in understanding the various districts and the way in which the city has evolved from many small communities. Each structure is covered in a brief paragraph giving street address, date, and architect, as well as a commentary on style, construction, and interesting architectural and historical features. National Register buildings and National Historical Landmarks are starred. There is also a small black and white photograph of each building. Here, unfortunately, is one of the major disappointments in the book, for the quality of photography is uneven: many rooflines and cornices have been cropped, shadows and foliage impair the view, and parallax, or distortion, occurs frequently.

The introductory essays of three prominent Baltimoreans are excellent. "The Streets of Baltimore" by the late John dos Passos provides a view of the city through the eyes of one who truly loved her for her faults as well as her virtues. His descriptions of the ethnic neighborhoods and of the familiar landmarks whet the appetites of the reader and the sightseer alike.

"Baltimore Architecture in History" by Wilbur H. Hunter is a concise, factual, and informative treatment of the complex forces and the men who fashioned the cityscape as we know it. Mr. Hunter is a noted lecturer on Baltimore's heritage and his article is a welcome inclusion for serious students of local architecture.

Likewise, "Baltimore Architecture Today" by Alexander S. Cochran provides a clear explanation of the factors which brought about modern styles of architecture and the way in which this city responded. This is a helpful introduction to the tours of Charles Center, the Village of Cross Keys, and some of the contemporary homes in the suburbs.

If, however, one were to rely on the *Guide* as a reference on Baltimore architecture, one would be sorely disappointed. Aside from the poor reproduction of the photographs, the book contains numerous inaccuracies which will undoubtedly reappear as fact in the future. It is

disturbing to read "Amos" Sheppard for Moses Sheppard, the philanthropist and founder of the Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital. The dates given for many of the buildings are subject to debate, and one wonders, additionally, why no structure of significance to the black community is included and why the excellent townhouse of Enoch Pratt, now headquarters of the Maryland Historical Society, is totally omitted. Where are the Godefroy gates to the Westminster Cemetery and its unique Egyptian style tombs? Why is the grave of Edgar Allan Poe omitted in the text although marked on the map of Tour E? Why also are Fort McHenry, Federal Hill, and Mencken's Union Square not covered? Several of these are of national importance and special interest to the out-of-town visitor.

In short, it would appear that the authors set out with admirable intent to fill a real gap in the limited amount of literature on Baltimore. Their undoing occurred when they attempted to cover too much material and consequently sacrificed accuracy and selectivity. The subject of architecture, its history and its preservation, is highly technical, and misinformation in the hands of the layman could perpetuate fallacies which professional historians and preservationists would be hard put to correct. Baltimore is still waiting for a first-class architectural study. In the meanwhile, *A Guide to Baltimore Architecture* serves as a tour book for a number of pleasant excursions throughout the city, not as a textbook of its architectural heritage.

Baltimore CATHARINE F. BLACK

Technological Innovation and the Decorative Arts. An Exhibition at the Hagley Museum Cosponsored by The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, March 29, 1973, through December 30, 1973. (Wilmington, Delaware: Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, Inc., 1973. Pp. 80.)

This timely exhibition with accompanying catalogue dealt with the effects of mass-production on the various decorative arts: furniture, wallpaper, printed textiles, clocks, domestic iron work, glass, guns, and silver. In each area reviewed, the exhibition featured tools of the craft, items produced prior to technological innovation and those produced at various intermediate stages of advancement, and illustrations and demonstrations of working machinery.

The catalogue avoided moral judgments concerning the disappearing craftsman forced to make technological changes in his art. Clear, well-researched information as to the mechanics involved in both hand and machine-made production was illustrated with diagrams as well as selected items from the exhibition. Both catalogue and exhibition were prepared by students at the Hagley Museum, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, and the University of Delaware. Their intention was to "explore the interplay of technology and design in an era of man's increasing exploitation of the machine." Successfully achieved in both objective and execution, the result is a most professional and interesting catalogue. This intentionally thought-provoking publication left me with the personal conclusion that through the unavoidable industrialization which overtook the decorative arts, we have perhaps lost more than we have gained. Others, however, due to the catalogue's well-balanced viewpoint, may arrive at an entirely different verdict.

Maryland Historical Society DOROTHY GLIDDEN

BOOK NOTES

Travels in the Old South. Selected from Periodicals of the Times. Edited by Eugene L. Schwaab with the collaboration of Jacqueline Bull. Foreword by Thomas D. Clark. 2 vols. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1973. Pp. xiii, 580. $25.00.) Students of southern history have long appreciated the six-volume bibliography, *Travels in the South*, but as useful as it is, it does not include those numerous travel accounts published in periodicals. The present work, while not a bibliography, reprints seventy-one contemporary articles never before reprinted anywhere. As Clark and Schwaab point out, brief periodical articles are often less discursive, fresher, and offer a more intimate portrayal of the past than do travel books which became a hackneyed genre. Schwaab has carefully chosen articles that represent the different sections of the South for seven chronological periods stretching from 1783 to 1860. The editor was especially concerned to select material that illustrated the economic, agricultural, scenic, social, urban, and cultural diversity of the region. The result is an extraordinary panorama of the Old South. Each article is identified with bibliographic precision; a sketch of the author if given if at all possible; and detailed annotation identifies places and persons mentioned. The value of such a collection is self-evident, but the pleasure derived from reading the accounts was unexpected. Numerous attractive illustrations depict scenes described, and the two-volume set has been printed in a sumptuous format, complete with a handsome slipcase. Often such lavish giftbooks are merely decorative. Thanks to skilled and perceptive editing, *Travels in the Old South* is pleasing to the mind as well.

Signers of the Declaration: Historic Places Commemorating the Signing of the Declaration of Independence. Edited by Robert G. Ferris. (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1973. Pp. xii, 310. $5.65.) As we approach the Bicentennial of American Independence, many Americans are increasingly curious about the great Declaration of 1776 that announced to the world this nation's founding ideas. Appropriately the National Part Service has responded with a prolifically illustrated guide to the event. Beginning with a brief background essay, the volume then presents brief biographical sketches and a portrait of each of the fifty-six signers, including of course the four Marylanders: Charles Carroll, Samuel Chase, William Paca, and Thomas Stone. The third section contains a concise description and a photograph of all the extant historic buildings in which the signers lived and worked. The fifty-six structures include eight from Maryland: the Carroll Mansion in Annapolis, Carrollton Manor, the Chase-Lloyd House, the Deshon-Caton-Carroll House, Doughoregan Manor, Habre-de-Venture, the Paca House, and the Peggy Stewart House. The appendixes include the text of the Declaration of Independence along with a short history of the document, a suggested list of readings, and the "Criteria for Selection of Historic Sites of National Significance." A superb index, art and picture credits, and a map further contribute to the volume's usefulness. History buffs will enjoy it, and history-minded vacationers might well adapt it as a bicentennial guide.

Harford Images. By Charles L. Robbins and Selman G. Wright. (Bel Air, Md.: Published for the authors, 1973. Unpaged.) The two author-photographers have produced a beautiful picturebook of Harford County through the seasons. Approximately one hundred photographs

stunningly printed make their little volume a jewel. The natural beauty of the countryside, bucolic farm scenes, bridges and mills, all are lovingly captured for the appreciative reader.

The Descendants of Reverend Christopher Wilkinson of Queen Anne's County, Maryland. By George B. Wilson. (Baltimore: Published by the author, 3212 Guilford Ave. Pp. 124. $8.00.) The Reverend Christopher Wilkinson was one of the controversial Anglican clergymen in the earliest days of provincial Maryland. The author is to be commended for fine research on the personal life of his subject. On page twenty-four the author states that his own ancestral link with the Reverend Christopher is without proof. He then cites circumstantial evidence to establish that link. Given enough circumstantial evidence many a district attorney has obtained a hanging offense and Mr. Wilson has done just that. In this case, I must concur with the district attorney. Unfortunately, the author often neglects to cite the volume and/or page number or issue date of newspapers from which he obtained his data. This may make it difficult for future researchers. Although the numbering system used is not the acceptable, standard form, it should not be difficult to follow. This may be just nitpicking on the part of the reviewer who judges genealogical numbering systems from the position of a librarian who must explain such systems to untold numbers of inexperienced genealogical researchers. If you are a Wilkinson or of a Wilkinson descent, you would do well to add this book to your library, for although you may not descend from the Reverend Christopher it should be invaluable for identification purposes. [Mary K. Meyer]

A Chronology of Virginia and the War of Independence 1763–1783. By John E. Selby. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Virginia Independence Bicentennial Committee, 1973. Pp. 48. $1.25.) In this pamphlet Dr. Selby, professor at William and Mary and book review editor of its *Quarterly*, has succinctly outlined Virginia's Revolutionary era. Anything contributing to Virginia's role in the Revolution, from the obvious activities of King, Parliament, and Virginia's legislature to the publication of inflammatory pamphlets, religious developments, and social events, has been mentioned. The pamphlet is exceptionally attractive including a number of illustrations and is an excellent handbook for both general readers and scholars. It is only hoped that more states follow suit with such bicentennial publications. [Richard J. Cox]

An Outline of the Maryland Boundary Disputes and Related Events. By Charles Morrison. (Parsons, West Virginia: McClain Printing Co., 1974. Pp. 68. $3.00.) This is not a text history but a schematic study, paralleling events occurring in England, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware over three centuries up to 1964. Much has been published on Maryland's boundary difficulties, but this accurate and useful quick reference is perhaps the most helpful. There is also an informative bibliography of books, articles, primary sources, and maps the author used in his research. [Richard J. Cox]

Maryland 1800 Census. (Provo, Utah: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1973. Pp. 614. $23.00.) is yet another computer index. For some months the team headed by Ronald Jackson with G. R. Teeples as chief paleographer and compiler has been publishing Federal censuses of various states for 1800 and later years. Data given includes name, county, page, age by decades, sex, number of free persons in the family, and number of slaves in the household. It is impossible to estimate the value of these books to genealogists, historians, sociologists, and

demographers; they are bringing a new dimension to all research and will save many hours. The more than 600 pages of *Maryland 1800 Census* contain approximately 37,000 names. While it is true that many censuses exist on microfilm, the book form is much easier to use; and further volumes for Maryland and other states will be awaited impatiently. Vital to most libraries. The book may be ordered from the publisher, P.O. Box 1214, Provo, Utah 84601. [P. W. Filby]

Manuals for genealogical researchers are many and hardly a month passes without the issue of a book for beginners or advanced researchers, and all have something for most genealogists. For long a comprehensive work has been needed–one which would be helpful to all genealogists, and with the publication of *The Researcher's Guide to American Genealogy* by Val D. Greenwood (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1973. Pp. xv, 535. $12.50), users have an outstanding volume which will answer almost every question. It is much larger than any other manual (550 pages) and will be quite heavy to carry, but since Mr. Greenwood discusses all aspects of genealogy and the records which are so vital, it could not have been accomplished in fewer pages. Legal records are treated in depth with the meaning of many strange terms and phrases made understandable. Court records and the types found are also made perfectly clear. Since the author has no sections (except Canada and Virginia), Maryland is not treated separately, and Mary K. Meyer's *Genealogical Research in Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1972) is still the best guide. Greenwood's work is essential in every library and needed by anyone in genealogical research. [P. W. Filby]

Old Houses of King and Queen County, Virginia. By Virginia D. Cox and Willie T. Weathers. (King and Queen, Va.: The King and Queen County Historical Society, 1973. Pp. 404. This picturesque and permanent record of about one hundred old houses in King and Queen County, Virginia, built before 1861 has been lovingly prepared by two authorities. The houses selected include every type in the county and with few exceptions still exist and can be seen. Each house has a photograph, mostly taken from Dr. W. Tyler Haynes's magnificent collection, with a description of the architecture, date when known, owners through the years, and any other relevant data, all told with a lively yet scholarly style. A few academies have also been included. The selections are arranged in three sub-divisions: Buena Vista, Stevensville and Newtown districts. A must for all buffs, and anyone with antique interests in Virginia. [P. W. Filby]

In order to give the *Maryland Historical Magazine* better balance, the Publications Committee invites well-written articles on Maryland—local history, architecture, music, medicine, law, genealogy, maritime, industry and education—are invited. Articles should be submitted to P. W. Filby, Director.